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G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR; JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

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THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, JULY 23, 1849.

For the National Era.

SKETCHES OF MODERN REFORMS AND REFORMERS, IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

NEW SERIES.

Chartists and Complete Suffragists—Fergus O'Connor—William Lovett—John Collins—Henry Vincent—Thomas Cooper—Edward Miall—Reverend Thomas Spencer.

I redeem my promise to give brief notices of some of the more prominent Chartists and Free-Suffragists.

Fergus O'Connor has been styled "The Great Chartist Leader." In advocating the cause, he has suffered for his imprudences, if not for his principles. He is made up in about equal degrees of the braggart and the coward, the demagogue and the democrat—a legitimate product of the rotten institutions and turbulent times in which he was born and has flourished. With many good qualities and many bad ones, he had not the moral bravery to lead a Reformation, nor the physical courage to head a Revolution. Aspiring to do both, and wanting capacity for either, he failed in each. Respect for an impulsive man who has proclaimed good principles in bad times, and sympathy for a weak man who has felt the thorn of persecution from worse hands than his own, induce me to forbear further remark on the foibles and follies of one who is shorn of his influence to do much future good or evil. Better for Chartism if he had lived and died a Tory; though, with all his sins, he will be kindly remembered when Toryism rots in contempt.

William Lovett's manly virtues and vigorous sense would rescue even a trivial cause from contempt. They adorn a noble enterprise. Born in extremest poverty, he has struggled upward against the crushing weight of factious systems, to an influential position in society. While a young man, he was drafted into the militia—refused to be degraded into a machine to kill men at the word of command—was arraigned before a magistrate for the offence—terrified the justice by the boldness and ability of his defence—and was discharged from the service after seeing his little property confiscated and his family reduced almost to beggary. This petty tyranny fixed him in the purpose of preparing himself to aid in remodelling institutions that taxed him to the marrow, without allowing him any voice in the selection of his rulers. He worked at his trade of cabinet-making by day, and cultivated his mind by night. Throwing himself into all metropolitan movements for the improvement of the laboring classes, he first attracted general notice by his connection with the London Working Men's Association, established in 1836. The many able addresses which this central body issued to the working men of the kingdom, and to the laboring classes in Belgium, Poland, and Canada, were prepared by him. These led the way for the Chartist movement. In 1838, he assisted Messrs. O'Connell, Roebuck, and other members of Parliament, in preparing "The People's Charter;" his part of the work consisting in drafting, theirs in revising, this noble and painfully celebrated document.

The main originator of the Chartist enterprise, he now gave to it his whole energies; and well would it have been had his sagacious mind and pacific disposition controlled its direction. The National Convention of Chartists was in session in Birmingham in 1839. The people of that town, as was their wont, were holding a meeting in "The Bull-ring," to discuss questions of reform. The police, part of whom had been specially sent from London, were ordered to break up the meeting. They rushed upon the assemblage, and, with their bludgeons, knocked down men, women, and children, and dispersed the meeting. Mr. Lovett, who was secretary to the Convention, drew up and presented to that body a manly protest against these outrages. It was printed and circulated through the town. For writing that paper, he and John Collins (who had carried the manuscript to the printer) were arrested for sedition, thrust into a dungeon, indicted, tried, convicted, and sentenced to a year's imprisonment in Warwick jail. On the trial, Lovett defended himself with great skill, and his address to the jury commanded general admiration. While in prison, Lovett and Collins published a pamphlet of 130 pages, entitled "Chartism: A Plan for the Education and Improvement of the People." It is able and eloquent, filled with the noblest sentiments, and contains suggestions for the instruction and elevation of the masses, which would, if acted upon by the Government, place England a century in advance of her present position. Near the close of their confinement, they wrote another paper, which I transcribe entire. The Melbourne Administration, "which meant but little, nor meant that little well," became ashamed of its treatment of Lovett and Collins, and offered to release them on their entering into bonds to keep the peace. Here is their reply. Read it, and see how contemptible a nobleman looks in the hands of a cabinet-maker and a tool-maker:

"Warwick Jail, *May* 6, 1840.

"*To the Right Honorable the Marquis of Normanby, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department:*

"My Lord: The visiting magistrate of the county jail of Warwick having read to us a communication, dated Whitehall, May 5, and signed S. M. Phillips, in which it is stated that your Lordship will recommend us to Her Majesty for a remission of the remaining part of our sentence, provided we are willing to enter into our recognizance in £50 each for our good behaviour for one year, we beg respectfully to submit the following as our answer. To enter into any bond for our future good conduct would be an admission of past guilt; and however a prejudicial jury may have determined that the resolutions we caused to be published, condemnatory of the attack of the police, were a violation of the law of libel, we cannot bring ourselves to believe that any criminality attaches to our past conduct. We have, however, suffered the penalty of nearly ten months' imprisonment for having, in common with a large portion of the public press, and a large majority of our countrymen, expressed that condemnatory opinion. We have been about the first political victims who have been classed and punished as misdemeanants and felons, because we happen to be of the working class. Our healths have been injured and our constitutions seriously undermined by the treatment we have already experienced; but we are disposed to suffer whatever future punishment may be inflicted upon us, rather than enter into any such terms as those proposed by your Lordship.

"We remain your Lordship's most obedient servants,

William Lovett.
John Collins."

Having been confined to a narrow, filthy cell, and fed on the meanest fare, Mr. Lovett's health was so seriously impaired that he did not recover his wonted vigor till nearly two years after his release from prison.

Mr. Lovett was a member of the Birmingham Complete Suffrage Conference in 1842, and his well balanced mind and lucid speeches gave him a leading position in that body. For a few years past, he has been engaged in publishing works adapted to the wants of the laboring classes, and his pen has been active in their cause. He was the publisher of "Howitt's Journal," and contributed some of the best papers that appeared on its pages. In person, he is tall and gentlemanly, has an intellectual countenance, and, take him all in all, is a rare specimen of the rich ore that lies embedded under the crust of British aristocracy.

John Collins, like William Lovett, came up from the ground tier of British society, and has brought along with him more of the marks of his "order" than Mr. L. He has rode out a good deal of rough weather in defence of Chartist principles. On his release from Warwick jail, he was received with the warmest enthusiasm by congregated thousands of his Birmingham neighbors. He afterwards made a tour of Scotland, addressing audiences in the principal towns. I listened to one of his speeches. My mind having been filled with prejudices against him, I was prepared to see a monster. But, there stood before me a stout, bold man, uttering the loftiest truths in a practical and pointed style, and with a tone and bearing conciliatory but firm—a man earnest in vindicating the depressed classes, who had shown courage in peril, endured persecution without repining, and now received applause without vanity—a nobleman by nature, a tool-maker by trade, but who never tried to make a tool of others, and was the last person who would submit to be made one himself.

The name of the young and eloquent Henry Vincent thrills the hearts of millions of Britain's laboring poor. While an apprentice in a London printing office, he aided by extra work during the day in supporting a destitute mother and her children, while midnight generally found him absorbed in some book adapted to expand his mind. His intellect outran his years, and he became a radical reformer when yet a boy. At the age of 14, he made a speech to his juvenile companions on the then engrossing subject of Catholic Emancipation. The French Revolution next possessed his enthusiastic soul. He stood dumb with emotion when he first saw the handbill at the door of the newspaper office, headed "Revolution in France!" He rushed home, got his six-pence, bought the paper, and ran through the streets announcing the event to all whom he met. Soon followed the Reform Bill excitement, which absorbed his energies. Although but 16 or 17 years old, he was chosen a member of a Political Union, and participated in its proceedings. Arriving at his majority in 1836, he resolved to consecrate his powers to the elevation of the laboring and disfranchised classes of the people. He joined with Mr. Lovett in the Chartist movements of 1837–'8, travelled the country as a lecturer, and was immediately ranked among the most vigorous and brilliant advocates of The Charter. Such was his success among the hardy mountaineers of Wales, that the Government became alarmed, marked him for its victim, and, on his coming to London to visit his widowed mother, dragged him from her dwelling at dead of night, on a charge of sedition, thrust him into a dungeon, tried him, convicted him, and sent him a year to Monmouth jail. The crime proved upon him was, using violent language and making the people discontented with the Government! Just before the close of his term of imprisonment, he was again arraigned on a similar charge, and doomed to another twelve months' incarceration. While in prison, he was treated with such barbarity that fears were entertained of a rescue by the Welsh, with whom he was highly popular, and he was removed to London. His journey thither was a triumphant procession, crowds gathering and cheering him at several of the principal towns on the route. While confined in a solitary cell in the London penitentiary, Mr. Sergeant Talfourd brought his case before Parliament, eulogized his character and talents, and arraigned the Government for the harsh treatment inflicted upon him. This woke up Lord Normanby, the Home Secretary, who visited Vincent, heard some very plain talk, had him removed to Oakham jail, and furnished with decent lodgings, and pen, ink, and paper. After suffering twenty-two months, (the Government having remitted two,) this pure-hearted young philanthropist was released, and the same day partook of a complimentary dinner, when he made a speech in defence of his principles and conduct, worthy of the theme and the man.

Soon afterwards, at the great election in 1841, Mr. Vincent was invited to contest the borough of Banbury for a seat in Parliament, the whole body of non-electors, and a large minority of the electors, being in his favor. On the morning of the election, (the result being very doubtful between the Whigs and Tories,) a committee of the former offered him a large sum of money to withdraw from the contest. He had scarcely spurned the proposal, when a Tory deputation offered him £1,000 to abandon the field. He refused the bribe with scorn. He was defeated, but he retired with honor, leaving hundreds of converts to his principles behind him. He subsequently, on especial request, stood for Ipswich and Tavistock, having failed of carrying the latter borough by only 44 votes, against the combined power of the house of Bedford. At the general election of 1847, he polled a very large vote in Plymouth. His chief object in yielding to the solicitation of his friends to mingle in these contests was, to improve the opportunity they afforded him for bringing thorough democratic principles before the people.

Mr. Vincent united with the Free Suffragists in 1842, and during the past seven years he has traversed England and Scotland, addressing multitudes in favor of Peace, Temperance, Education, Free Trade, and Parliamentary Reform, winning a high place among the advocates of radical reform. His speeches are a continuous flow of rapid, fervid eloquence, that illuminates the reason, kindles the imagination, and fires the heart. In person, he is below the middle size, symmetrically formed, with very handsome features, graceful and elastic in his action as a deer, and his voice thrills the blood like a war trumpet.

Thomas Cooper is another original genius, who has forced his way into sunlight through the thick shell of British caste. Eating the bitter bread of poverty during childhood, he contrived, by means that throw fiction into the shade, to gratify a native taste for reading, drawing, and music. Laboring on a shoemaker's bench from the age of 15 to 23, he snatched from toil the opportunity to acquire a respectable knowledge of the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and French languages, and of Algebra and Geometry—to commit to memory considerable portions of Shakespeare and Milton—to peruse the works of Hooker, Cudworth, Stillingfleet, Warburton, and Paley—and to compose some poetry and essays of his own. This he did by robbing sleep of its wonted hours, and while his miserable wages afforded a pittance barely sufficient to keep him and his mother from starving.

At the age of 23, he dropped his awl and hammer, and emerged into the world. For ten years he buffeted a sea of troubles, dividing his time between teaching country schools and writing for periodical newspapers; now accumulating a choice library of 500 volumes, and then parting with it, volume by volume, for bread. In 1841, while engaged as a reporter for the *Leicestershire Mercury*, he was directed to report a Chartist lecture. It was the first he had heard, and its principles found an echo in his bosom. He commenced a lecturing tour in support of the Charter, visiting, among other places, the Staffordshire potteries. While in that region, in 1842, occurred those serious disturbances which for weeks tossed the Midland counties on a wild tempest of riots. At first, the object was to raise the wages of the operatives by a general "strike." Demagogues fanned the flame, till it broke loose in arson, pillage, and other violent acts, resulting in a few instances in loss of life. Cooper was arrested, and finally arraigned on four indictments for riot, sedition, and arson. He was tried, and, though acquitted on the more serious charge, was convicted of the minor offences, against every principle of law or reason. He was sentenced to two years and three months' imprisonment. One of the trials lasted ten days. Cooper defended himself with great ability, proving no unworthy antagonist for Sir William Follett. The barbarous treatment he received in prison gave him rheumatism, neuralgia, and other diseases; but it gave to the world "The Purgatory of Suicides." This celebrated poem appeared soon after his liberation, in 1845, having been composed in Stafford jail. It was highly eulogized in the Eclectic, Britannia, and other literary periodicals, and met with immediate success. In the preface, the author proudly says:

"I am poor, and have been plunged into debt by the persecution of my enemies; but I have a consolation to know, that my course was dictated by heart-felt zeal to relieve the sufferings and oppressions of my fellow-men. Sir William Follett was entombed with pomp, and a host of titled great ones, of every shade of party, attended the laying of his clay in the grave. They propose now to erect a monument to his memory. Let them build it; the self-educated shoemaker has also reared his, and, despite its imperfections, he has a calm confidence that, though the product of poverty, and suffering, and misery, it will outlast the posthumous stone block that may be erected to perpetuate the memory of the titled lawyer."

Mr. Cooper subsequently published other works, assisted in editing Douglas Jerrold's Magazine, contributed to Howitt's Journal, and delivered courses of lectures before various literary and scientific institutions in London; but, under all circumstances, giving his heart and his hand to all efforts to elevate the class of society in which he is proud to have had his origin.

The bare names of those who have borne a prominent part in the Chartist movement would fill pages. I must leave them, and have time to notice two men only who may be classed as Complete Suffragists proper, they never having acted with the Chartists.

Mr. Edward Miall has been for several years the editor of *The Nonconformist.* He formerly officiated as a dissenting minister. Competent judges have pronounced this newspaper one of the ablest of the English journals; its conductor one of the ablest of English editors. Undoubtedly it stands in the front rank of *religious* newspapers. It has a clear comprehension of the mission of a religious journal in the current crisis of English affairs, and fulfils it with courage, integrity, and ability. It is the organ of no sect, but reflects the views of Radical Reformers of all denominations. It is the organ of no party, but utters the sentiments of the friends of progress. While it gives much attention to ecclesiastical affairs, it discusses all political matters that occupy the public mind, probing subjects to the core, laying bare corruption, and excoriating evil-doers in Church and State, without fear or favor, ranting or cant. The leading characteristic of its editorials is their searching and philosophical style of argument; while the hue of the rhetoric, the texture of the composition, are lustrous and compact, equalling in beauty and grandeur the essays of the first class of periodicals. It occasionally indulges in the most pungent sarcasm and lively wit, all the more biting and inspiring for being exceptions to the general rule. Every line breathes a deep earnestness for truth, and a warm sympathy with humanity. The writings of Mr. Miall are models of English composition.

At the last general election, Mr. Miall contested Halifax as the Radical candidate; and his speeches during the canvass were only surpassed in strength and acuteness by the emanations of his own pen. In the outward semblances of the orator—the mere frame and gilding—he falls below the expectations of those familiar with his writings. An attenuated frame, a thin voice, a stiff demeanor, a monotonous gesticulation, seem too slight a frame-work to sustain the operations of so mighty a mental machine as his. Glorious dawn of England's better day, when the seats of her Parliament are thickly sprinkled with such men as Miall, Cobden, Sturge, Thompson, and Vincent.

Having stopped a moment to look at the plain garb of a Nonconformist minister, we will glance at a hardly less radical reformer, arrayed in the canonicals of the Church of England "as by law established"—Rev. Thomas Spencer. As this gentleman has travelled and spoken extensively in our country, it will not surprise Americans to be told that, though a clergyman of the Establishment, he is also a thorough tetotaller, the enemy of commercial monopolies, a Complete Suffragist, and almost a democrat. Possessing superior talents, a rich flow of eloquence, a commanding and graceful person, Mr. Spencer has been eminently successful in instructing and delighting large audiences of his countrymen, and commending to their judgments and tastes themes that would have been repulsive in the hands of men of less aristocratic associations. He took a prominent part in the Birmingham Conference of 1842, which organized the National Complete Suffrage Union, and was elected a member of the General Council of that association. He has mingled much with the poor of England, feels deeply for their wrongs, and boldly advocates their rights. How beautiful and cheering is the light reflected upon the wide-weltering chaos of surrounding darkness, by such clergymen as Thomas Spencer and Baptist Noel. They, as well as many kindred spirits of the Establishment, and the great mass of dissenting ministers, do not esteem it incompatible with their dignity, nor unbecoming their sacred calling, to take an active part in all questions, whether political or ecclesiastical, which vitally affect the interests of their fellow-subjects. I have never heard that their labors for the people in the forum diminished their influence over the people in the pulpit. Nay, it rather increases that influence by convincing the people that, in becoming ministers, they did not cease to be men—a truth which, in many cases, is either very unskilfully taught, or is very hard to be learned.

H. B. S.

For the National Era.

FICTION—ITS ABUSES.

The existence of a faculty is the divine warrant for its exercise. Its capabilities are the natural charter of its activities. Its endowments indicate the purpose of their bestowal—just as every wheel and pulley in a machine is placed there to play its part. In the structure of the mind, which is clearly an aggregate of dissimilar powers, there is none redundant—not one; and neither original sin nor accidental abuse has changed their number or essential nature. If every mind answered truly to the idea of the Creator, it would be also true that every part and power of its complex constitution would be perfect in force and right in direction; but, in fact it is not so. Though Nature, under the law that every creature shall bring forth after its own kind, preserves the number and character of the elementary faculties, so that the human mind has ever been, in these respects, the same, it has happened that the balance is broken and their harmony is lost. Constitutionally they are much deranged, and the education of circumstances disturbs and perverts them still more; so that abuse results, which, towards God, is sin—towards man, crime and injury—in the wrong-doer, corruption, bondage, and moral disease. Still they are all naturally in freedom—such freedom as choice confers, and their best estate, their conformity to duty, or the rule under which they are put, is philosophically described as "the perfect law of *Liberty.*" Their natural liberty is the inherent right of free use and free range, limited only by their energy and opportunity; their moral liberty is the like right of free use, limited only by moral obligation, which also corresponds to and may be resolved into their universal harmony; for true religion is nothing else, subjectively, than the law of nature reinstated in its primitive integrity. Moral freedom involves as well as demands the subordination of every free faculty of the head and heart to its superiors—the lower instincts and passions to the higher social, religious, and intellectual powers. The rank and relative value of each is to be adjusted by the breadth of its range and the worth of its object. Thus: the animal instincts and selfish affections respect only our individual wants, and the least worthy of them; we must live by them and may indulge them, but in strict subordination to the faculties which put us in relation with all that is around and above us—a scale that rises in beautiful gradation from mere amenity of manners up to universal benevolence toward men, and thence again through the still grander and holier religious affections, till the perfection of our nature is reached in the capacity of union with the Supreme. None of these powers, from the lowest up to the highest, were given to be either suppressed or extinguished. They were all bestowed in all their varied excellency by creative Wisdom to accomplish our happiness and His high purposes, under the direction of exalted reasoning faculties, to whose natural means of knowledge He has, in all ages and climes, and perhaps in every individual, superadded the light of revelation.

The application of these truths to works of imagination, as to every other range of mind and relation of life, is easy, and the conclusion is clear enough, that works produced by and addressed to the imagination are not to be condemned merely because they are fictitious in narrative, but should be approved or condemned by their intrinsic qualities and legitimate tendency and effects.

Novels that are injudicious in their plan, absurd and extravagant in execution, useless or dangerous in their issue, fall fairly under the censure of correct taste and sound morality. The least exceptionable of these are no better or other than so many sources of mental dissipation and moral palsy.

Some of them do terrible mischief to their silly devourers, by rendering them callous to the plain, unvarnished misery which everywhere solicits their regards in actual life—as extravagant cookery blunts the palate to wholesome food—rendering their sensibilities irritable, morbid, feeble, approaching to exhaustion, by constant abuse upon the ridiculous distresses of ranting fools and hysterical puppies of both genders, paraded in literary puppet shows as cheap and mean as they are abundant. Moreover, the victims of this trashy extravagance are kept regularly drunk upon the small beer of sentimentalism, which they mistake for the very wine of life, and have their fancies juggled into imbecility by highly-wrought daubings of preposterous refinement and impossible fortunes, and are rendered absurdly wretched and worthless because their visionary world reflects disgust and contempt upon the contrasted meagerness of incidents and meanness of circumstances which make up their real experience.

There is another class of these books scarcely clean enough for description. They are made up of corruption—an artificial compost, deprived of its grossest offensiveness, ready to be spread over the heart and distilled into the imaginings of the reader till the greedy soil is stimulated into corresponding rankness of production. These are often as gross as the criminal reports of civil and ecclesiastical courts, published under the same pretences, and ministering in their wantonness to similar ends. They must be dismissed without more particular notice.

There is still another class, much more popular, because more decent, but infinitely more pernicious. They are distinguished from the coarser class, by the prostitution of genius and taste to the unholy work of corrupting purity of sentiment and sincerity of character, by substituting intellectual elevation, fantastic notions of honor, and refined licentiousness, in place of the meekness of charity, loyalty to duty, and religious reverence. To describe them by their effects is easier and perhaps more useful than to name them. They may all be known, generally, by the mental intoxication which they produce, and the ungenial and unpractical tone of feeling which they infuse; they disturb the repose of innocence, array pride, passion, and ambition, against our peace, produce discontent with the ordinary circumstances of our condition, and unfit us for the every-day duties of actual life. They kindle the passions, but without purifying them; they tone the sentiments, but give them no direction or steadiness; they wing the imagination, but present no substantial object, and elevate the intellect without enriching its resources. Their effect is to sever the existing relations, and weaken the authority of law over the conduct of life. The reader grows familiar with brave words and high deeds, but he finds no strength in them for the heroism of endurance and duty in his own experience. He bubbles with the gas, glows with the heat, and dazzles with the light which he borrows; but the higher his range of thought, and the more sublime his elevation of feeling, he is only the more distant, and the more blinded to his distance of departure, from truth and its securities. Kindled into a rage of rapture, the enthusiast mistakes giddiness for grandeur, wildness for freedom, and convulsions for strength; and, above all, he knows not that he has all his ecstasies in a licentious heaven, in which the gift of Invention and the charm of Poetry are employed "to make Vice pleasing and Damnation shine."

There are many novels which have no character at all, and many, also, that may be classed with them, though indictable for their immorality, which are read by persons who are themselves without character, or capacity for anything but the intense idleness of reading them—persons who devour tales as they talk gossip, stare at processions, and attend church, just to enjoy some keener consciousness of life than their own emptiness and feebleness can afford them. I have known girls read bad novels by the cord—as they heard sermons by the hundred—without catching or retaining one idea from either, except some very girlish interest in the particular hero of the story or of the pulpit, which happened to strike their fancy. Veteran novel readers these. They gulp them down as children cram stolen sweetmeats, finishing off a volume at a single sitting, and repeating the feat about six times every week. In twenty years, I have not detected in one of a dozen of these greedy guzzlers of fiction, a thought or turn of expression gained from the best of the stories which they had been wasting their lives upon. Their giggle and gabble had caught no elevation of tone or worth of meaning from all the thought and passion through which they had been whirling their giddy fancies. They had managed both to miss the advantage and escape the risk of taking in much of anything good or evil, by always reading in the spasms of a hysterical paroxysm, which affected them in body and mind very much as the whooping cough affects a child—the nerves vehemently shaken, the muscles in an earthquake, the lungs worked to exhaustion, flushed cheeks, boiled eyes, and a sharp appetite for bread and butter; and so, prepared for the next attack. Their mothers sometimes complained, sometimes boasted, that they were "such great readers;" and the poor girls treated themselves to the innocent delusion that they lived all the time in the land of romance, but I never knew anything happen to any of them, except prattle parties, pic-nics, and bad colds. Poor girls! under the steam pressure of sentimentalism they took a literary railroad ride every day, made up of dash, rush, a little zest of alarm, whirling landscapes, a collection of strange faces, an occasional shriek, or a loud laugh, giddiness, fatigue, and finally the whole is dumped down at the regular depot, just as everybody expected when they took their tickets for the trip. It is amazing how these people can fend off thought so successfully as they do. A girl, naturally clever enough, who had read all Walter Scott's novels in this fashion, knew that "there was a serf and a jester in England in Ivanhoe's time;" but, when asked about the feudal system, answered, that she "never bothered her head about politics." Another: "Didn't think Richard (the third,) as Booth plays him, exactly like Richard Cœur de Lion." This is very deplorable; for the girls are not natural idiots—not anything like it. They were only novel readers, and *nothing else.*

Novels are read also by many who are capable of their best influences, much as they listen to music and attend theatres, for the easily got up excitement and pleasant relaxation which they afford. I remember that professional men, who habitually read a good deal more light literature than they confessed, spoke slightingly and impatiently of Bulwer's Zanoni, just because it was too rich in thought, and embraced too much philosophy to allow that happy mixture of lazy intellect and luxurious feeling which they sought for in the toyshop of imaginative literature. They were fretted by the necessity of reflection, the unavoidableness of thought which the book compelled, so long as it was perused; for they were not quite capable of skipping and dodging all the profound and beautiful ideas which the author crystallized upon the thread of his story, as the inveterate novel gossips do who manage to get over so much reading with so little thinking, by playing bo-peep with the hero of the tale; escaping all interruptions and episodes of description, reflection, and disquisition, by running the eye keenly along the solid pages, until they find his name again, or detect the resumption of the narrative by the short paragraphs and quotation marks, which show that the characters are at work again, and the story is advancing.

The attractiveness of Fiction for such minds and for such moods of mind as these, and indeed for every style of human nature, is traceable to a law which has many manifestations as curious as this.

Physiologically life has been defined, "the totality of those functions which resist death." Moralists have expressed their apprehension of it in the happy phrase, "Our loves are our life." For the purposes of mental philosophy, a union of these definitions, or of all the modes of affirming that *life* is *action*, is required in order to an available comprehension of it. Happiness—the fullness of life—is not in inaction, but in the gratification of the active faculties, whatever they are; and it is in exact proportion to their energy and indulgence. Every sense, every emotion, every perceptive and reflective power, is an impulsive spring that urges the soul out after its object. Every faculty has its own proper hunger and thirst; its simple activity is an instinctive joy, and the grasp of its object consummates its happiness.

The five senses, from the simplest to the highest offices in which they minister, have enjoyment annexed to their activities; indeed, they are indulged habitually for the pleasurable excitement which they yield, rather than in any intelligent reference to the purposes which they serve in the maintenance of our animal life. No one can fail to observe how much more direct reference their indulgence bears to pleasure than to use, both in infancy and maturity of age. Life well managed would be, as it was designed, a perpetual rapture. The senses, even in their lowest functions, are capable of beauty; intermediately, they minister to delights which we call spiritual, to express their excellence; and the higher faculties of the soul were made for "joys unspeakable and full of glory." It is the divine instinct in them that clamors for action and enjoyment. It is their proper life that pushes them through the cloddy surface out into the light, as the germs spring into sunshine and spread their leaves to lap the dew and drink the air of heaven. The objects of our manifold appetencies and aspirations are pursued under the pressure of an impulse which no artificial restraints, no doctrine of mere self-denial, can ever wholly repress. The fire gushes out through every pore, and every fibre has a tongue that asks enjoyment.

The sober, grave, hard-working faculties perform the drudgery which ministers to our first necessities without question or rebuke; the instant dependence of organic life upon their services, puts their right of action beyond dispute; but every other faculty of our nature asks as innocently and as rightfully for its life and liberty, and makes its urgency felt in its own way as decisively as the muscles yearn for motion, or the stomach craves for food. If circumstances restrain, if the world denies their askings, they will plunge into the region of revery and dreams with such aids as art supplies them. Heroism demands a field for its enterprise, actual or imaginary; and history and fiction are read, that the fancy may revel in their playground of sympathetic achievement. The luxuries of love are simulated in the illusions of fictitious experiences; and the gushings out of the heart, which find no object or completed satisfaction in its actual relations, are amply provided for in the world of romance. The affections create their paradise, as devotion peoples heaven.

Our highest, noblest life subsists in reciprocity. The church, the theatre, the public walks, the saloons of art, the bowers of beauty, are so many exchanges of this social commerce. And the battle-field and the retreats of wretchedness are sought with a like avidity, under the impulse of the passions which they gratify. Every feeling, trembling upon its own spring and burning with its own necessities, keeps up the pursuit of its ideal in full and eager chase, and falling short of its demands in actual life, as it ever does, the world of romance becomes the resort of its hope or the retreat of its despair. It is the highest, the divinest of every sentiment that rushes into the sphere of the immaterial, to realize there the glorious prophecy of its instincts; and it is not wonderful, that the keener activities and richer relishes of the passions and affections should overpass the lazier intellect amid the luxuries of esthetic literature.

It is sad, this abuse of fiction by the lust of luxury divorced from use; it is sad that music is in like manner degraded into the service of the lower feelings, and even the very woods and flowers become provocatives of inferior delights, but it is in this way and with such abuses that every sense and sentiment will assert its restrainless life, in our system of individual and societary disharmony. The soul turns from the partial and the false around her, to the real and the perfect which she creates in her spiritual domain after the patterns of things seen in her own heavens. If her work is fragmentary, distorted, mischievous, it is not because madness is too tense a state of life for the performance of its duties, or too high a tone for the enjoyment of its luxuries, but because our natures are so unevenly developed, our knowledge so limited, opinion so erroneous, creeds so dark and crushing, passion so blind and selfish, that the government of the great law of harmony is lost, and the lower instincts usurp the dominion of the spirit. The intense selfishness of ambition, the revenge which we call justice, the cruelties that are flattered with the rank of courage, and the lusts which take the name of loves, are disguised so smoothly to us, that their revels in the imagination are not clearly felt to be licentious; moreover, their indulgence is not followed by open shame and punishment, and their intrinsic evils are not exposed to us in the wrongs and injuries of their victims. For it is matter of experience, that when the sins of our souls are not translated to us in the strong remonstrances of their injured objects, they are too apt to escape detection altogether, or to pass with slight challenge from the conscience—that which hurts nobody but myself, I feel a sort of hardy unselfish liberty to commit.

Nevertheless, regarding the evils which are the theme of these reflections as abuses in the action and direction of powers which must act—conceiving of them, as of all other evils, that they are never entities, substances, things, but abuses only—that is, misdirection, or excessive or defective action of things—the remedy, of course, is in the right employment and in the harmonized activity of all these elements of life—the adjustment of each to each, of all to nature, and to the divine law.

The spirit of the age, that which creates the demand, takes care of the supply; and the fictitious literature, in its higher departments, answers to the character of the times, just as the sermons and sacred poems answer to the religious sentiments which they are made to meet. Novels are as often volunteers in the field of reform as they are slaves in the regular service of antiquated despotisms. They become the gospels of their own day and the harbingers of a brighter and better future. Within the large limits of their privilege they have a playground that escapes the watch set by criticism over regular literature, and here advances are made in security, which would alarm conservatism and prejudice if formally avowed and displayed in any department of rigidly responsible authorship.

In our own day we find some of our most popular novelists, like all our most famous poets, enlisted in the service of moral, social, and political reform. The most fashionable authors of the day have become mediators between the virtuous and the abandoned. The centre-table of the rich is loaded with appeals, in one form or other, for the poor; not appeals for alms, but for justice, for respect and affection—for the regards of practical fraternity. The vices which would banish men and women from society, are not themselves banished from the thoughts of that society; but in a thousand ways the appeal is made, through the pages of these fascinating books, for pity, for help, aye, even for respect, to those whose pride of purity has hitherto repulsed them. This advocacy is maintained bravely and efficiently through a hundred volumes of tales that might easily be named. The necessity of the gallows and the glory of the sword are brought up for judgment in our light literature, and every day the decision of thousands is secured for the good of the world, and the advancement of the better day coming. These missionaries of reformation are in bad society, indeed; they keep company with publicans and sinners, but they have, nevertheless, the address to reach also the sympathies of the rich and the refined, and are doing their work with a doubly accelerated success; disposing at once the sufferer and the oppressor to the happiest adjustment of their differences and interests. They are preaching the new doctrine of human fraternity with a power and effect that will mark their efficiency deeply in the better order of a coming day. Coming to the age that is just departing in such a questionable shape, they encounter its honest bigotries, and suffer the opprobrium of all sorts of alleged heresies, but they have a method and a charm, to match and over-master the resistance which would know how to muzzle the pulpit and padlock the press if they employed their liberties in any such service through the stereotyped forms of indoctrination.

Dickens, for instance, writes without any systematic formularies; without a theory of human nature, or any special enterprise for the amendment of society. He contents himself with picturing its sufferings and vices, its virtues and blessings. He paints life as it is, and delivers it over on his presentments to the apprehension of millions who would never have read the lesson for themselves, nor made the inferences which his stories fasten upon the heart and head as their moral and philosophy. Believing as he does that "all men may be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth," he demonstrates this hope in the worst cases of destitution and abandonment to which the realm of probability accords an existence; and the reader, grown familiar with such regenerations, extends his compassions where before only his horror, if not his hatred, was evoked. When he draws a miser or a malignant, he makes him a loathsome as well as a startling possibility. I do not remember that he has anywhere magnified and glorified military murder, or given any cowardly and cruel support to the barbarous criminal code of England, on which her tyrants and her slaves alike rest their security here and their hopes hereafter; he nowhere ministers to the mean inhumanities of caste, but everywhere rebukes them; and though rioting in a wealth of humor as large as all the world of authorship besides possesses, he has never pointed the shafts of ridicule at any sentiment or movement that might plead in exemption its innocence and defencelessness.

In all this I recognise a providential method of preaching the truth of to-day; and I hail its ministers with as hearty cheer as if they came in the rough garment and leathern girdle of the old time Seers. I would, too, if that were possible, that those who serve at the altar and those who thus preach in the streets, the drawing-rooms of wealth and the huts of poverty, were but rightly reconciled—that they neither clashed in sentiment nor forbade each other to cast out devils in their respective ways of doing their appointed work. But if this cannot be, if orthodoxies and establishments must ever, by a necessity of their nature and position, resist the innovations of reform, it is well that there is a light corps of pioneers who can infuse the spirit of liberty and the science of life into the literature of the age, through avenues which no vigilance of conservatism can guard. We cheaply compromise for all the evil of the utmost practicable license, for the great gain of so much freedom as the same channels open up to the right and true. There are books abroad in the community, which pretend only to furnish the entertainment of a vacant hour, richer in their wisdom and more loyal to the duty which authorship owes to humanity than the average of the sober treatises on society and moral science which claim the confidence and demand the assent of the more serious world.

To the consciousness of this great responsibility, and the perception of the influence of this species of literature, I ascribe Bulwer's conversion from being the writer of the most pernicious class of novels, to the very high style of moral and humanitary sentiments which give character to his later productions.

But I intended only to consider my subject on the points which I have in some sort presented; I did not propose a critical article upon fictitious literature in review style; I was not involved in the history or prophesy of my subject, in its schools or its rules, but with certain abstract ideas, primary conditions, and practical reflections, which I have now imperfectly produced. Not intending anything beyond suggestions, by the way, I have given my article no special array, and reached no particular conclusion. Those who take the trouble to read, will have the goodness to charge themselves with the additional trouble of understanding the topics for themselves. They have my thoughts now to this extent, and I leave them to their own.

Senior.

REPORT OF A SPEECH BY DR. WM. ELDER.

Delivered on the 4th of July, before a meeting for sympathizing with the Republicans of Europe.

He began by remarking, that the call from the audience which put him in the front of the fray, threw him out of the place which he had expected to occupy, and so far deranged him, that he must be indulged in some preliminary reflections. It was possible that, before he finished, he might speak so freely as to need the most favorable construction of his language.

The preamble and resolutions just read had set the topics of the day's discussion so fully before us, that they needed no formal array from him. Some of the points involved, and all the circumstances of the meeting—the men on the stand, and the absence of others who might have been there—the difference of sentiment which this meeting, called to sympathize with revolutionary Rome has affected in the community, and the still greater difference of conduct openly manifested, made it necessary for him to say, that while he would address himself freely to the discussion, he must be understood throughout to mean only the King of Rome when he spoke of Pius IX. He distinguished between the Prelate and the Prince, and left men's creeds out of the question in the discussion of their political relations—respecting liberty of religious opinion in others, as earnestly as he demanded it for himself.

He did not intend to sever religion itself from politics, or shut the Sovereign of the universe out of any of the affairs of men—least of all out of their governmental principles and policy. He separated Church and State in his creed, as the people of this Union had done it in their Constitution, believing that civil liberty and religious purity both alike required it; he forbade the bans of Church and State, not because they are dissimilar in their nature, and repugnant, but for the very opposite reason, that they are within the prohibited degrees of relationship. The life-blood of true religion runs in the veins of free Government. Only despotism and churchianity may commit the unnatural sin. On the other hand, he would not willingly utter a word that could minister to or gratify the bigotry of any religious organization against any other; not only for reasons of policy and politics, but for the higher and truer one that be made too little account of the differences between them. His political duties and private convictions in this fairly coincided. He was, nevertheless, glad that the question involving these points had arisen in Europe, and that it now demanded settlement in America. The conservatism of creed, property, and caste, lurking among us, and ever mischievously busy, could not otherwise be brought to judgment under the standards of political and social liberty. This question could not start despotism fully from its den, but would help to show where the monster lies. Even so imperfect a test discovers the truth, that there are only two parties to any question of moral right—its friends and its enemies, and these in effect in the extremes, according to the rule, "no man can serve two masters." People may talk as they please about necessity, and policy, and expediency, but when the proper human nature in a man is wakened up, it claims all its rights in all their completeness. Pius IX, probably the best Prince, and beyond all doubt the best man on any throne in Europe, obeying most likely his own generous impulses as well as the spirit of the age, led the way in concessions to the people of his dominions. He gave them much, and with it the thirst for more; they were grateful as they were glad, but they felt that it was only justice, not mere grace. He gave an inch, and, to his amazement, they demanded an ell! Either all was too much for his own grace to grant, or he found himself compelled, by other influences and necessities, to refuse and to withhold. Now, we are told that these rebellious freedmen of a much-loved Prince are ungrateful, lawless assassins.

The speaker, in his boyhood, long before the anti-slavery agitation commenced, read a story in a newspaper, which illustrates both sides of this difficulty. A slaveholder, perhaps the most benevolent of his class, had from childhood distinguished one of his slaves by unusual kindness; he educated him, and in all respects gave him the largest liberty and the happiest life consistent with the relation of bondage. The slave escaped, was retaken, whipped, and put to the hoe for the first time in his life, under the overseer. He murdered his master in revenge. How clear the inference that the wretch was incapable of benefits, and unfit for indulgence. He repaid all that extraordinary affection by planting his dagger in the heart that loved him best, and it was in that strong case demonstrated that clemency only spoiled the miserable wretches of his caste, and despotism seemed justified by its sad necessity. But on the scaffold the slave said, that while he loved his master for all he gave, he hated him for all he kept from him of his own. The injustice remained all the same while any part of his awakened manhood's dearest rights were forcibly denied, and was felt just in proportion to what had been restored. The upward-tending soul of man says never "it is enough." The heart's natural instincts utter themselves in one word—More, ever More. All or nothing is the rule for ruling the life of man. Despotism absolute, or Liberty without limits. There is no resting place between them.

But *are* all men created equal, and endowed with an unalienable liberty? The *question* is asked here, on this 4th of July. Its echo is flung back from the walls of that hall, where the high doctrine was first affirmed by the voice of a whole people. How do the facts of our own history respond? What is the answer of the heaving heart of Europe? How was it answered in Paris in February, 1848? The Provisional Government, appointed Heaven only knows how, ruling by the divine right of providential appointment and universal consent, administered all the internal and international affairs of that great nation for three months in sacred peace and order. Without a Constitution, without the authority of law, holding offices by the simple tenure of good behaviour, at the will, or, if you please, at the caprice of the million mob of Paris—they began in the confidence, the religious trust of this great truth—they threw away the defence of force—they abolished capital punishment for political offences, chattel slavery in the provinces, civil slavery everywhere, resting their decrees simply in their justice; and through all the turbulence and license of that lawless populace, they held their place, without a crime, without fear, and without bloodshed. Not till the divine spirit cramped itself into the forms of *constitutional* freedom, not till the spirit of liberty had folded her wild wing and perched herself upon the established securities of law, did anarchy and battle again disturb the peace of Paris!

Practical people may ponder upon the facts. There they stand blazing in the light of their own truth, and justifying the highest faith of man in man, forever. Take one sublime incident—look at it. The people fondly thought they had achieved their liberty by force of arms, at the barricades. Appropriately enough, they demanded the flag that floated over that fight, for the national standard. The Provisional Government refused. The mass mustered in its might—the streets were crowded—thousands upon thousands surrounded the Hotel de Ville—Lamartine answered to their call—his poet heart recoiled in horror at the thought—the symbol of civil war—the banner stained with brothers' blood—red with revenge—to become a sign and a sacrament of the people! See him as he stands transfigured before them! Behold him as he takes the ruffian billows of the popular tempest by their crests, and hurls them back upon their sources! "You demand the red flag—for my part, I will consent to it never! The tri-color has made the tour of the world, with the Empire and with the Republic—with our glory and our liberty. The red flag has made the tour of the Champ du Mars, dabbled in the blood of the people!" Lamartine, in that glorious hour, risked the peace of Paris—the fate of the Revolution, upon a principle of correspondence—upon a point in the spirituality of poetry. Did that *darkness* comprehend that light? Did the dead *hear* that voice, and live? Did divine liberty there see by its own divine light? The answering shout of that mob in the streets of Paris vindicated the oracle delivered seventy-three years ago on this spot, and fulfilled again its promise to the ever-hoping heart of humanity.

The Roman Prince could not be a reformer only, he must be a liberator or a despot. He must choose between a republic and a kingdom, and now he must abandon his humanity or his throne. Suppose he *is* restored—no, not restored, that is impossible, he has abdicated government in the affections of his people—suppose him replaced in his seat of political power, what then? Not a regiment of Romans, not one company, has volunteered to fight his battles. Two elections by universal free suffrage have sentenced him to deposition. Three millions of people, with unparalleled unanimity, have rejected his temporal rule. And it is as true now as in '76, as true of Rome as of America, that "three millions of Whigs cannot be enslaved." In all the Italian States, there are twenty-four millions of people. More than we have in this Union. They will unite, they must. And then the world in arms would not suffice for their subjugation. Hungary with her ten millions are invincible. They will entrench all their borders with the bodies of their Cossack invaders. Whatever be the fate of particular battle fields, it is not in the might of muscles to overcome the might of mind. If the earth *must* be ransomed from bondage by the blood of her own slain, would to Heaven that the honor of that fight were accorded to us—that the barbarian hordes of Russia were displayed on the plains where the first battles of Republicanism were won—that the sword of Washington might close forever in peace the strife that it began in glory.

It is not strange—it is not a caprice—to give our sympathies to struggling Europe. Nor is it useless. Our fathers did not proclaim a revolt of the thirteen colonies against their own King, but the liberty of *all* men from every form of tyranny. They severed the sword from the cross, and dashed crowns into the dust. They reasserted the charter of human liberty, in the language of the "First Bishop of Rome," to all the world, and to all the inhabitants thereof they echoed the glorious truth—"*Ye* are all Kings and Priests unto God," and we take up the cry of another apostle, and say, "Stand fast in that liberty wherewith Christ has set you free"—stand, and, having done all, stand—seeing ye are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, lay aside every weight, and run with patience the race set before you. In the faith of human equality, its apostles "have subdued kingdoms, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens. These have obtained a good report, and God has provided some better thing for us"—the perfecting of the work and ending the strife so well begun.

Our sympathies cannot be ineffectual to them, and they are irresistible to us. Mental magnetism at least is true. The will of the world will find a way for its accomplishment. The religion of humanity, the religion of the second table of the law inspires faith in men, hope and charity for man, and the Creator and Ruler of all men is not deaf that he cannot hear, nor is his arm shortened that he cannot save. One doctrine of the Mother Church is full of cheer, as of beauty and truth, the ministry of angels and the intercession of the saints; the inspired word glows with its light on every page, and the universal human heart asserts its truth, and evermore clings to its hopes. That spiritual host recruited in every age from the martyrs of liberty, employed as of old, is on every field where man sweats blood to redeem his fellow-man, and rolls away the stone from the grave of divine liberty after every crucifixion. The moral and spiritual resources of the right struggling against the wrong, fill the earth and the air and the skies with forces which shall yet achieve the high destiny of man, and that assured victory is the prophecy of every noble heart.

Practical people will sneer at the fantasies of the faith which was the very life of their own idolized heroes, and will cling to the wretchedest worn-out facts of the lowest spheres of experience; nevertheless, God reigneth, and we look for a new heaven and a new earth, and our eyes shall yet see the desire of our souls, and be satisfied.

STUMP ELOQUENCE IN TENNESSEE.

The *Nashville Union* publishes the following speech made by Mr. Cullom, an "independent" Taylor Whig who is running "on his own hook" against General Barrow:

"My countrymen, I am a candidate to represent you in Congress. My countrymen, I was a candidate two years ago, and at that time my opponent was my friend, and your distinguished fellow-citizen, General Barrow. My countrymen, General Barrow then came to me, and said—'Cullom, you are a much younger man than me; let me run this time; General Taylor will be elected;' (and here General Barrow intimated that Old Zack would provide for him;) and therefore I declined. His prediction, my countrymen, has been fulfilled. Old Zack has been elected, but General Barrow refuses to yield me the track. He has sucked so long, my countrymen, at the public teat, that he has become—shall I say, *bloated?* Like a big calf, he will suck up all the milk. My countrymen, he must be weaned! My countrymen, I was born in old Kentuck—I was born a Whig—a poor boy, I cum to Tennessee, and worked an infernal flat-boat to this town, at the very time the city hotel and the steam saw-mill at the mouth of the branch was conflagrated! My countrymen, I am no beggar. I have a competence for myself and children, and sop and corn bread for my friends. My countrymen, I have no great family influence—no royal ancestors. I am one of the b'hoys. The 'upper ten thousand' want a Convention. They want to bind and sacrifice me; but, my countrymen, I will call in the hands; *it can't be done.*

"How greedy, oh, my dear countrymen, how greedy are the 'upper ten!' The post office in Nashville, the best office in Tennessee, has been given to the head of the Barrow family; and the gazettes of the day announce that an Indian agency has been given to the brother of my distinguished competitor. Oh, my countrymen, I wish I belonged to the Barrow family; I believe I will have myself made a *barrow!*"

A distinguished clergyman once said to a lady of his congregation, who was famous for her bad time when she sang, and thereby seriously disturbed in their devotions those whose seats adjoined here—

"I have serious fears for your future state, my dear madam, if you have not more correct ideas of *eternity* than you have of *time.*"

THE TERMS.

We again call the attention of our readers to the following extract from the "Terms" of the *Era:*

"Every subscriber renewing his subscription, and sending two NEW subscribers, shall have the three copies for five dollars."

A subscriber sends us five dollars for *three new* subscribers, and thinks he carries out the spirit of the proposition. Undoubtedly. A postmaster, not a subscriber, also sends us three new subscribers on the same terms, presuming that we will not object. Certainly not. The only difference between these cases, and those in which subscribers pay their moneys to agents, is, that in the former the subscribers secure to themselves the benefit of the commission. This does not interfere with our regular agents, but rather helps them, by multiplying our readers, and thus extending the field for their operations.

We hope each subscriber, as his subscription runs out, will bear in mind that, by a little exertion, he may secure two new subscribers, and supply himself and them for five dollars.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, JULY 26, 1849.

"THE SOUTH AND THE NORTH."

The article under this title, published lately in the *Era*, by "*A Carolinian*," in reply to Ellwood Fisher's Address, has been issued in pamphlet form by Messrs. Buell & Blanchard, and may be had at $2 a hundred. We know of no better document just now for circulation, and hope that orders may be sent in for them forthwith.

MR. CALHOUN'S LETTER crowds us. We have adopted the abridgement of it made by the *Alexandria Gazette*, retaining the whole of his argument on the Territorial Question.

ORDINANCE CELEBRATION.—For proceedings see 4th page.

DR. WILLIAM ELDER.

Dr. William Elder of Philadelphia has the reputation of being one of the most eloquent and effective speakers in the United States. What he is as a writer, our readers, who have paid any attention to his article on Fiction, in a former number and on the first page of this number of the *Era*, need not be told. Having never heard him speak, we have lain in wait for reports of his famous speeches, but reporters have failed to daguerreotype him, simply remarking that the Doctor spoke in his usual "eloquent," or "brilliant," or "unrivalled" manner, or something of the sort. For the first time, we caught him the other day in the *Philadelphia Sun*. He had made a speech in Philadelphia before a meeting called to sympathize with the nations of Europe, struggling for their freedom, and somebody succeeded in taking him down in black and white. We give the report on our first page, and commend it to the notice of the reader, whose admiration will be excited by its rare combination of philosophy and oratory. And, with such a man among them, Philadelphians send second-rate politicians and fourth-rate speakers to Congress, to represent them! What honor would the election of such a man as Dr. Elder by the liberal and enlightened friends of progress in all parties, reflect upon their great city!

DR. HAWTHORNE AND CHOLERA.

The letters of Dr. Hawthorne on the treatment of cholera have attracted much attention. He uses the following combinations:

1. Powdered Opium, twelve grains.
Camphor, half a drachm.
Capsicum, nine grains.
Spirits of Wine and Conserve of Roses, of each a sufficient quantity—mix.
To be made into a mass and divided into twelve pills.
Each of these pills, it will be observed, contains one grain of Powdered Opium.
2. Chloric Ether.
Aromatic Spirit of Ammonia.
Camphorated Spirits.
Tincture of Opium.
Of each one drachm.
Cinnamon Water, two ounces—mix.

As I shall have occasion frequently to refer to these pills and this mixture, I shall term them, for convenience and accuracy of reference, Anti-Spasmodic Pills and Anti-Spasmodic Mixture.

His mode of using these combinations is as follows, selecting the *worst* stages of the disease. Of course, in the preliminary stages, the practice would not be so energetic:

Place the patient immediately in the horizontal posture, in bed; and give him, on the instant, as this is an extreme case, ten of the anti-spasmodic pills, and two ounces of the above anti-spasmodic mixture, and wash the whole down with a glass of undiluted brandy or whiskey, flavored strongly with cloves, essence of ginger, or some such warm aromatic spice. In the mean time, have him covered with an additional blanket, and let the usual means of communicating heat, such as jars or bottles of hot water, bags of hot salt or sand, hot bricks, or whatever can be most readily procured, be applied without delay to the feet and different parts of the body, so as to restore the temperature, and produce perspiration as quickly as possible. As soon as the perspiration has begun to flow freely, superadded to the medicine and cordial already administered, a glass of brandy punch should be given—the punch to be made strong, and to be swallowed hot as possible. After this, no drink should be given till the perspiration has flowed freely for a few minutes. The stomach will then retain it, and the patient should be indulged freely with copious draughts of rennet whey, warm toast water flavored with some agreeable spice, mint or balm tea, or any such mild beverage. The necessity of attending to this is most important. When the discharges from the bowels cease, and when the pulse becomes full and pounding, and the body is covered with a copious warm perspiration, which will not fail to be the case under such treatment, the danger is over. The perspiration, if the patient can bear it, should be kept up for twelve hours, and may with advantage be continued, moderately, even longer. Its duration, however, must be regulated according to the strength of the patient and the state of the pulse.

After the first four or six hours, more heat need not be applied than is perfectly agreeable to the feeling of the patient. It is remarkable how suddenly the præcordial oppression, &c., are relieved on the breaking out of a free perspiration; and what is of greater importance still, the vomiting, where it exists, immediately ceases. I know of no other means by which vomiting in such cases can be speedily and effectually checked. In the application of external heat, a rational use should be made of the means. I cannot see the necessity for increasing the temperature beyond what is grateful to the feelings of the patient, and beyond what is sufficient to produce and keep up a profuse perspiration. I would remark, that the heat can be much more efficiently communicated by solid substances, such as I have mentioned above, than by the hottest air or vapor apparatus. This apparatus, as a means of communicating heat to a patient affected with cholera, is an instrument which I consider to be worse than useless.

Now, let it be observed that I have selected an extreme case, and have prescribed a dose of medicine sufficient to meet such a case. As I have already stated, not one case need be lost if the practice be sufficiently prompt and bold. I have supposed a case of the most malignant character, where there has been profuse watery purging, and where another discharge from the bowels would endanger the patient's life; and, under these circumstances, I have prescribed ten of the pills containing ten grains of powdered opium, as a less dose would not meet the exigencies of the case. To administer this dose, under the circumstances I have stated, is perfectly safe; to admit an inefficient dose is certain death. I have, under the circumstances supposed, tried smaller doses, but found them insufficient to arrest the progress of the symptoms, and was obliged in a few minutes, to increase them. After such experience, I always prescribed ten of the pills for a dose, under the alarming and dangerous circumstances I have supposed, and always with never-failing success; and I have never seen the slightest narcotic effect produced by this large dose of medicine, on any of the patients to whom it was administered under such circumstances.

Having treated numerous cases of this disease, and experienced it too, during its former visitation, we are prepared to endorse this vigorous treatment, as the very best that we have seen recommended.

OLIVER JOHNSON, formerly connected with the *New York Tribune*, has become the editor of the *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, and, bating his notions about the Constitution and the Union, he is making an excellent paper. He is good-tempered, liberal, and an energetic editor.

ANNEXATION OF THE BRITISH PROVINCES IN NORTH AMERICA.

As the subject of the annexation of the British Provinces in North America, to this country, is now attracting much attention, the following statistics, compiled from various sources, will be useful for reference:

	Area in sq. miles.	Population.
Upper Canada in 1841	147,832	506,055
Lower Canada in 1841	201,989	693,649
Total	349,821	1,199,704

[The total population at this time must be over 1,500,000.]

Nova Scotia	15,617	220,000
Cape Breton	3,129	39,000
New Brunswick	27,700	220,000
	46,446	479,000

We throw out of the account the islands, which Great Britain might desire to retain; and then there is an aggregate territory of about four hundred thousand miles, with a population, Anglo-Saxon in its main element, of between two and three millions, to be annexed. At least seven large States could be constructed out of the aggregate.

COMMERCE.

	Tonnage, 1845.	Imports, 1844.	Exports, 1844.
Upper Canada } Lower Canada }	61,869	$11,920,980	$8,790,995
N. Brunswick	92,865	3,362,445	2,727,830
Nova Scotia	108,799	4,489,900	1,980,705
Cape Breton	20,591	47,235	131,160
	284,124	19,820,560	13,630,690

The commerce of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, for many years past, has been almost stationary, as will be seen by the following tables:

NOVA SCOTIA.

	Imports.	Exports.
1832	[illegible]	$1,961,275
1835	3,060,975	2,277,735
1840	6,400,720	3,712,960
1842	4,994,075	3,210,395
1844	4,489,900	1,980,705

NEW BRUNSWICK.

	Imports.	Exports.
1832	$2,659,375	$2,357,635
1835	3,107,555	2,886,045
1839	5,057,930	3,451,930
1840	4,228,400	3,185,745
1842	1,643,970	1,839,915
1844	3,362,445	2,727,830

In the Canadas, in 1842, 14 out of every 100 children were receiving instruction, and, in 1848, 27 out of every 100. In Virginia, we estimate that not more than 15 or 18 out of every 100 are receiving instruction—

"In twenty years, the amount of assessed property has doubled—thus, in 1828, it was £4,284,457, in 1848, £8,567,001. Of *horses*, there is *one* to every *six* inhabitants, and of *milch cows*, *one* to every *three* inhabitants. Of *wheat*, the product in 1842 was 3,222,990 bushels; in 1848, 7,558,773 bushels. In population, the growth, as compared with the growth in the United States, is alike unexpected and surprising. The increase of the population of the United States from 1840 to 1847, is estimated at 17 per cent.; of Canada, 100. The proportionate quantity of wheat to each inhabitant was

	1840. Bushels.	1847. Bushels.
In the United States	$4\frac{7}{8}$	$5\frac{1}{2}$
In Canada	$6\frac{2}{3}$	$10\frac{1}{2}$

"Indian corn, however, *the* great staple of the United States, is little raised in Canada."

Our readers need not be told that we are in favor of annexation when it can be accomplished without war, without dishonor, and with the consent of all the parties concerned. Our system of confederated States, under a general head—each being left free to provide for its own domestic interests, while external relations and interests are superintended by the Central Government—is preëminently adapted to secure the highest form of civilization, and its essential conditions, over the greatest extent of territory. Europe has its peculiar political system, the distinguishing feature of which is, Disunity. It is cut up into numerous independent and *alien* States; many of them petty principalities with discordant interests and irritating rivalries; the lesser States in constant danger of being trodden under foot by the greater; and these ever intent upon selfish aggrandizement. Hence the exhausting military establishments, the wasting tax on production, the ruinous restraints on commerce, the bloody wars, the many barren revolutions, the almost invincible obstacles in the way of Popular Progress.

Our circumstances are different. The North American Continent has fallen under the dominion chiefly of one race, speaking one language, accustomed to free institutions, addicted to similar modes of thought, of diversified, but as yet, harmonious interests. Why should our civilization be retarded, crippled, by the spirit of Disunity? The great Idea of our political system—and it is one, inculcated by Christianity, dear to the heart of man—should be UNITY. This realized, our entire energies—we speak now of the Continent—could be concentrated in the peaceful development of a Civilization which it has not yet entered into the heart of man to conceive. With the Canadas on our borders, as dependencies on a foreign Power, we must erect hostile custom-houses, and military defences, thus wasting means that might be more wisely and beneficially employed in the cultivation of our interior life. With the Canadas, as independent States, a portion of their territory reaching down almost to the heart of our Union, and coterminous for thousands of miles, jealousies, rivalries, collisions, interfering with their progress no less than with ours, would be sure to spring up.

Give us UNITY. Let us be One and Indivisible—like the planets, each distinct, shining with its own light, moving in its own orbit, but all circling harmoniously around the great Central Sun. What an example to the world! A Continent at Peace? Variety without Discord, Unity without Monotony—Personal Liberty, State Sovereignty, Federal Supremacy, harmonized—a civilization without a camp, without an army, but with a might more than a match for the world in arms!

It is idle to suppose that such a Confederacy would be dangerous to the rights of mankind. Peace would be its fundamental condition. Having nothing to fear from aggression, the love of Peace would be its ruling passion. Enjoying the incalculable benefits of a Continental union, its highest aspirations would be, for such a union of all nations as would provide for the adjustment of international disputes without the arbitrament of war.

The American People will undertake no hasty or ill-advised movements to hasten a consummation which the majority of them regard as desirable. It is for their brethren in the Provinces and Great Britain to say when and how the connection between them shall terminate; and they are anxious that their Northern neighbors should convince themselves fully of the benefits of annexation, before making any overtures. We desire no members of our Union, who do not become such voluntarily, and remain with us cheerfully. It is hinted by some who are ambitious to manage great movements, involving the interests of nations, by the same petty machinery which they would use to achieve a party triumph, that our Government might do much to promote annexation by denying to Great Britain the *reciprocity* which she so anxiously seeks.

A correspondent of the *Boston Courier* favors the public with the following information and speculation:

"Mr. Merritt, of Canada, who holds, we believe, a position under the Government of that Province, which corresponds to that of Premier 'at home,' has lately been here, and, in concert with the British minister, has been endeavoring to obtain the consent of the Administration to a proposition of free trade between the British North American Colonies and the United States.

"The proposition has been urged with zeal by Mr. Merritt on behalf of Canada, and its claims to a favorable consideration have been earnestly presented to our Government by Mr. Crampton. The British authorities are evidently impressed with the necessity of doing something to alleviate the commercial condition of British North America, as well as to divert the public mind of Canada, now so agitated, from its present undivided attention to their political grievances. Hence the present mission of Mr. Merritt, and the warm coöperation of the British minister in furtherance of his aims."

The writer says that our Government returned a negative answer to the proposition, and he adds—

"These Provinces begin to see clearly, and feel sensibly, that under the system of free trade proposed by England for her future policy, they are to labor under very great disadvantages while they continue to remain appendages to the British Crown, unless they can obtain the right of free trade with the United States. To get it, therefore, is their first desire; and the British Government, we see, is wise enough to afford all the assistance in its power towards accomplishing this result. It knows full well that if that effort shall fail, a serious consequence will follow in the shape of a clamor and a demand for 'annexation.' The end of that clamor is not doubted. It admits of no doubt. It must result in the admission of the Colonies as States into our Federal Union.

"The subject thus assumes a very important and interesting aspect in a national and political point of view. It is something vastly higher and of more consequence than a mere question of the admission of certain Canadian products free of duty. It is, whether we will pursue a policy which will encourage *and finally constrain the Colonies to separate from the mother country;* or whether we shall blindly adopt measures which will leave them without a reason for desiring or an excuse for attempting that separation. *These Colonies must have free trade with the United States.* Their geographical position makes the necessity inexorable, after the destruction of the old British colonial system. If they cannot obtain it without annexation, they will be annexed. There is no question of this. It is 'manifest destiny.'"

We are inclined to think this a short-sighted policy. It must tend to foster unfriendly feelings in the Canadas towards this country, and will certainly not propitiate Great Britain in favor of a measure which would aggrandize a Government thus placed in a position antagonistic to her own. It is a game at which two can play. If the haughty Government of England perceive that by denying free trade to the Canadas we are trying to force their annexation, she will naturally take some measures to remove the ground of their complaints, making decided discriminations in favor of their commerce, perhaps against our own—and then, what should we have gained? Our true policy is, to encourage the freest possible intercourse with our Northern neighbors. This will impress them more and more with the great benefits to be derived from annexation. Already our exports to the Provinces amount to half of those from Great Britain; suppose they were equal to the latter, or twice as great, does not every one see how strong an impulse would be given to the sentiment of annexation? Such a policy, too, would conciliate the British Government. Its pride would not be wounded, its jealousy aroused, the spirit of retaliation provoked. The greatest obstacle to annexation will be found in her pride and supposed interest; but, if she can be convinced that the independence of the Colonies and their annexation to this country would vastly promote her interests, by enlarging her markets, she would at last yield gracefully to "manifest destiny."

The average annual value of the imports from Great Britain and Ireland, into the British Provinces in America, excluding Honduras, for the seven years ending 1846, was about thirteen millions of dollars. The average annual value of British imports into this country since 1840, has been about forty-five millions of dollars. Now, let the English Government understand that annexation would give such an impulse to all the interests of the Canadas, that many of those emigrants from Britain who now, landing at Canadian ports, pass on to the States, would then prefer the new lands in those Provinces; that a stream of emigration from New England and New York would immediately set towards the annexed territory, so much more accessible than the Far West; that in this way new markets would be opened for her products; and that our policy, so far from tending to restriction, would continually tend to reciprocity; and who does not see that the strongest motives against a change in the condition of her American Colonies would be removed?

Other important views of this great question we shall present from time to time.

IOWA.

The Democratic State Convention of Iowa, held at Iowa City, on the 28th inst., was agitated considerably by the Slavery question. After a hard struggle, it rejected all propositions to recognise the Wilmot Proviso, and concluded to stand by the Nicholson Letter—the only Democratic State Convention in the free States that has done so. It passed the following two resolutions:

Resolved, That we deprecate any separate and sectional organization in any portion of the country, having for their object the advocacy of an isolated point involving feeling and not fact, pride and not principle, as destructive to the peace and happiness of the people, and dangerous to the stability of the Union.

Resolved, That inasmuch as the Territories of New Mexico and California came to us free, and are free now, by law, it is our desire that they should remain forever free; but that until it is proposed to repeal the laws, making the country free, and to erect others in their stead for the extension of Slavery, we deem it inexpedient and improper to add to the further distraction of the public mind by demanding, in the name of the Wilmot Proviso, what is already amply secured by the laws of the land.

It is difficult to avoid imputing insincerity to men who profess opposition to the extension of Slavery, and yet pass such resolutions as these. The concocters of the resolutions must have known that the doctrine set forth in the last one is denied by the great majority of Southern politicians, and of course is a mere abstraction, affording no practical safeguard against the introduction of Slavery. Hear John C. Calhoun:

"There is another error akin to this—that the Mexican law abolishing slavery is still in force in New Mexico and California, when not a particle of its authority or sovereignty remains in either. Their conquest by us, and the treaty that followed, extinguished the whole, and with it annulled all the laws applicable to them, except those relating to such rights of property and relations between individuals as may be necessary to prevent anarchy; and even these are continued only by sufferance and on the implied authority of the conquering country, and the authority of the conquered, and only from the necessity of the case. Her law abolishing slavery is not embraced in the exception; and, if it were, it would be taken out of it, as the assent of Congress could not be implied to continue a law which it had no right to establish."

This is the doctrine of Slavery Propagandists, and they will act upon it; but these Cass Democrats of Iowa propose to secure the free Territories of New Mexico and California against their incursions, by a naked affirmation of the contrary doctrine! They are either shamefully insincere, or extremely simple.

The Whig State Convention that met on the 30th ult., at the same place, passed the following resolution, showing that the Whigs of that State are much in advance of their Cass brethren.

Resolved, That we are opposed to the extension of Slavery into territory now free, and that we believe it to be the duty of the Federal Government to relieve itself of the responsibility of that institution wherever it has the constitutional authority to do so, and that the legislation necessary to effect these objects should be adopted

DR. SCOVILLE, President of South Hanover College, Ia., died on the 4th instant. The *Cincinnati Gazette* says he will probably be succeeded in the Presidency by Professor Minard Sturgus, who graduated in that institution, and has been a teacher in it ever since. We cordially endorse the commendatory notice of this gentleman, taken by the *Gazette:*

"Professor Sturgus is a fine scholar, a man of most extensive reading, indefatigable in his business habits, a warm friend of the College, and a most enthusiastic advocate of that liberal and enlightened Education which makes Christian Freemen and individual Men."

And, withal, one of the most genial fellows in the world.

THE WASHINGTON UNION, having concluded to publish the whole of Mr. Calhoun's reply to Mr. Benton, published last Saturday the rest of the speech of the latter.

For the National Era.

TO STELLA.

BY MISS PHŒBE CAREY.

Stella, once thy dewy eye
Drooped not down so mournfully;
Stella, once the hours for thee
Vanished calmly, even'ly;
Now, with sudden tear and smile,
Thou art changing all the while.

By the sad flow of thy hair,
Veiling ill a brow of care—
By thy crimson-changing cheek,
By thy lips that trembling, speak,
Thou rememberest but too well,
Tones that haunt thee with their spell.

Stella, thou hast music heard,
Dearer than a brother's word;
Stella, thou hast felt a kiss,
Sweeter than a sister's is;
And thy heart hath visions, too,
Such as childhood never knew.

Stella, well for thee it is
Thus to tremble in thy bliss;
Well it is for thee to pray,
Lest there come an evil day—
One in which a human arm
Cannot shield thee from the storm.

I have watched thee, Stella, fair,
With a sistre's tender care,
Fearing, knowing, this must be,
Since thy dawn of infancy.
Now my watch for thee is done,
God protect thee, gentle one!

OLD ISSUES OBSOLETE.

In full view of the fact that the country is now moving along under a system of Democratic measures—the Tariff of 1846, the Sub-Treasury, the acquisition of vast new Territories, the prostration of all schemes of Land Distribution, &c.—the following paragraph, from an editorial in the New York *Commercial Advertiser*, a leading Whig journal, commenting upon some irritable sayings of the New York *Mirror*, bearing strong testimony to the wisdom of those measures, is worthy of remark. It will be read with some surprise by those who expected to see the whole financial policy of the Government changed by the new Administration:

"The 'old issues' *are* obsolete; and not only so, but the country is in the full tide of prosperity. What wrong, or inconvenience, or source of danger, or loss, or discredit, is there for the Administration to exercise its powers upon for redress, or remedy, or prevention? Business of all kinds is flourishing; industry and enterprise receive their meet reward; nobody starves, nobody suffers from any cause which Government or political action can defeat or counteract; we are not involved in foreign war, or in danger of being; we have no revolutions to shake our land from one end to the other; in short, as the editors of the Mirror may learn at any moment from any newspaper in the whole Republic, the North American Republic is at this moment, and likely to be, the most prosperous, stable, fortunate, favored, and altogether admirable and enviable political community on the face of the earth. Why, then, should the Whig party or the Whig Administration fret itself into fiddle-strings, or do anything but just keep quiet and let things go on as excellently as they are going?"

* * * * * *

"'Masterly inactivity' is just now the true system of the Whig party—for this simple reason, that the party has done all the good it can do at present by placing at the head of affairs an Administration which does and desires to do no mischief, and is content, as we hope the Mirror will be, 'to let well alone.'"

The article from which we make these quotations, is copied approvingly by the *National Intelligencer* and several other Whig papers. It recommends, to "let well enough alone." Under the Tariff of 1846 and the Sub-Treasury, things are "going on excellently." Let old issues be laid on the shelf, they "are obsolete"—let the country have peace—let the Whig Administration simply see to it that the Democratic policy, now established and working so "excellently," be quietly carried on without any change, being content with the glory of having placed a man at the head of Government who "desires to do no mischief." What a strange comment does all this afford on the pother of heated partisans, who were fond of representing that there must be a change of measures, or the country would be ruined!

We agree with this Whig paper: the old issues are obsolete. The Tariff will not be essentially changed, except to liberalize it; nor will the Independent Treasury be abandoned; and, as for the question of Land Distribution, that is in fact substituted by the question of Land Reform.

This, then, is the auspicious time for settling the Territorial Question. The friends of free institutions can unite, concentrate attention upon this, without detriment to "other interests." How unreasonable to allow party names to divide them, when old party questions have been settled!

GENERAL TAYLOR AND THE CHURCH.

The facility of invention or the abundance of folly is contributing occasional facts from the opposition ranks, which tend to establish the sound practical sense of General Taylor, at the same time that he is openly and broadly assailed by the same writers. We yesterday met with an anecdote, evidently retailed with the design of disparaging the President; but, allowing its truth, we think it indicates a judicious appreciation of the character of his office and his relative obligations. The story is, that a committee of one of the Methodist Societies of Georgetown waited upon the President to ask a donation towards enabling them to build a church. It is said that the General replied, "No; I will not give you a cent; the People did not put me here to build churches." The language may have acquired a twang of rudeness in its transference to a *political use*, but, notwithstanding, it is the language of sound discernment and good common sense.

Now, let us see who was right, and who was wrong, in this interview. In the first place it occurs to us that any religious denomination would better consult the proprieties of our national institutions, and the political fitness of things, by refraining from any act that might expose the prominent officers of Government to misconstruction of motive. The *office* of the President is *exclusively* secular, and for his religious sentiments he is responsible to no earthly being. He had, therefore, a perfect right to refuse the donation upon any ground, and without explanation; and the attempt to make him amenable for it, is an outrage upon his individual rights as a citizen of the United States.—*Baltimore Sun.*

The *Sun* generally contrives to be on the side of the winning party. During the last Administration, it upheld Mr. Polk; it is now quite Taylorwise.

We know nothing positive, as to the truth of the incident on which it comments, but we presume that the President did refuse to contribute to the erection of a church. The *Sun*, assuming it to be a fact, justifies him, on the ground that his office is "*exclusively secular!*" Ridiculous! Do Virtue, Knowledge, and Religion, cease to have claims upon a man because he happens to hold a civil office? We believe in the separation of Church and State, but not in the divorce of Religion and Rulers. According to the new light of the *Sun*, no officeholder ought to contribute to the building of churches, to the payment of expenses of religious worship, to the support of ministers, to the circulation of the Bible, to the prosecution of Missions, or to any other religious object: his office is "*exclusively secular!*"

We can conceive of but two grounds, either of which would justify General Taylor, or any other person, in refusing such a call—a want of means; or a conviction that religion, as preached in the churches generally, or in the Methodist churches particularly, does more harm than good to the country. Now, the President is too rich to set up the former plea, and not quite simple enough to resort to the latter. The act of refusing to aid in the building of a place of religious worship, where neither want of means nor a disbelief in religion exists, is discreditable to any man, specially to one holding high office from the People. True, they may not have put him there to build churches; neither did they put him there to stifle the generous instincts of his nature, and set an example of penuriousness. The People of the United States are distinguished for their liberal contributions to all good works; and their public servants cannot do better than to rival them in their charities, and gracefully reflect the national spirit.

PANAMA RAILROAD.—The $1,000,000 capital stock of the Panama Railroad has been all taken. The amount is sufficient to put a railroad in operation from Panama, on the Pacific, to the navigable waters of the river Chagres. Such a road can be built in a year or two.

THOMAS EARLE.

Many of our readers must have read with pain the announcement in our last number of the death of Thomas Earle, of Philadelphia. The following notice, from the *Public Ledger* of that city, does him no more than justice. He was one of the most upright men and independent thinkers of the country.

"The death of Thomas Earle has been announced; and, in the brief notice of his decease, one who was acquainted with his character would scarcely have supposed that it had reference to one of the most sincere, honest, unselfish, and philanthropic individuals that ever breathed. Mr. Earle's whole life seemed to be spent in objects having for their aim the good of society and of his fellow man. His views, like all such persons, seemed singular to the rest of the world—yet many of them came ultimately to be adopted—proving that the only error of their advocate was in their premature announcement. He was the first one to propose a reform of the State Constitution, and for years advocated it alone in the *Mechanics' Free Press*. The idea, at first condemned as ultra radicalism, took a favorable hold of the public mind, and the present Constitution is the result of the Convention which grew out of his proposition.

"Mr. Earle was elected a member of that Convention, in which he was always found supporting the popular cause, and urging the most unrestricted freedom compatible with the public good. As usual, he stood alone, arrayed almost always against the views of the majority. Yet no man was more leniently treated by his opponents, or more highly respected in the Convention. His sincerity and urbanity gained the good will even of those who entirely differed with him in opinions. Though decided in his views, and persevering in gaining his point, he was never violent or intolerant. A Democrat, he never agreed with the Democratic party; an Anti-Slavery man, he seldom was found according with the Abolitionists. His views were more those of the Free-Soilers of the present day; and when they went by the name of the Liberty party, he was their candidate for Vice President of the United States. Mr. Earle, in the early part of his manhood, was a merchant. He studied law under John Sergeant, and finally adopted that as his profession. He was a correct and forcible writer, he was a ready and logical speaker, and he contributed frequently to the Democratic press of this city. Society in his death loses a good citizen, and the world an honest man."

THE DEMOCRACY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Mr. Burke's accession to the chair of the Washington Union, and the vehement advocacy by that paper of the policy of *Non-Intervention*, have failed to counteract the anti-slavery tendencies of the New Hampshire Democracy. The report and resolves lately adopted by a large majority of the Legislature of that State, in reply to certain resolves of the Legislatures of Virginia and Missouri on the subject of slavery, we commend to the notice of the Charleston Mercury. As originally reported by the Committee, (we learn from the Independent Democrat,) nothing was said about slavery in the District of Columbia. Mr. Cole, a Free Soil member, moved a resolution supplying the omission. The old managers struggled against it, but at last the Young Democracy carried the day, and it was adopted:

Report of the Select Committee on certain resolutions of the States of Virginia and Missouri relating to fugitive slaves.

The Select Committee, to whom were referred the report and resolutions of the Legislature of Virginia, and also certain resolutions of the Legislature of Missouri, upon the subject of fugitive slaves, and other matters pertaining to the institution of slavery, respectfully report:

That, without entering into any general examination of the reasoning of the report in question, your committee are of opinion that many of the topics therein discussed are such as to require no action on the part of New Hampshire. This State has "commenced" no "war of legislation against the owners of fugitive slaves." It has assumed no position upon which it may not rightfully stand, without violation of the principles either of justice, humanity, or the Constitution. It has been actuated by no "feigned philanthropy;" neither "irresponsible mobs composed of fanatics, ruffians, and fugitive slaves," nor mobs in any other way constituted, have had any recent existence here. That "irregular outbreaks of brutal violence and ferocity have happened in the free States;" that "insane fanatics and brutal ruffians" have in these scenes been continually violating the rights of those who own slaves, is asserted in the report under consideration, in language far too broad for truth, and far too angry for that courtesy which ought to be observed in the intercourse between sovereign States. That these pictures are drawn with more feeling than fidelity, and are the result of a distempered fancy rather than an impartial observation of facts, our knowledge of the orderly and law-observing character of non-slaveholding communities compels us to believe.

We trust that the report in question does a similar injustice to the slaveholding communities for which it speaks, when it intimates that if the laws are not modified and executed to their satisfaction, they will invade the territory of the free States, and react upon their southern frontiers forays which occurred upon the borders of Scotland, in a semi-barbarous age.

We should regret the occurrence of such scenes. We should regret the attempt, threatened in various alternatives and in various parts of the report in question, to divide this Union, or excite an armed resistance to its laws. But yet we most confidently believe that our institutions are inherent with power sufficient for their own protection, and that of every portion of the American people.

The new legal remedy asked for by the report under consideration, is indeed remarkable. That every postmaster and collector in the free States shall be clothed with the same judicial power over the rights and liberty of persons claimed as slaves as courts of the United States may now exercise—that every member of this newly-constituted host of magistrates may surround himself with marshals, possessing every summary process—that all improper acts, occurring whenever and wherever, in presence of any considerable number of persons, an alleged fugitive slave is demanded, or held in custody, shall be removed from the jurisdiction of the State courts to the courts of the United States—are claims so extraordinary, so insulting to the free States, that they cannot have been advanced with any expectation of their meeting with the sanction of any State where a regard to the interests of slavery has not become paramount to every proper appreciation of State rights, and of the rights and security of free men.

The report of the Virginia Legislature complains that the New England States, with a sterile soil and ungenial climate, have become, in proportion to their population, the most wealthy communities in the world, while comparative poverty has fallen upon the South, and its commerce and navigation have been transferred from its own harbors to those of the North. It might have drawn a like comparison between Ohio and Kentucky, between free territory and slave territory at every point where they come in contact. Is it strange that the free States, with these facts every where spread out before them, should be unwilling to see slavery extended, with its blighting influences, over territories now free?

The committee conclude this report by recommending the adoption of the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That, opposed to every form of oppression, the people of New Hampshire have ever viewed with deep regret the existence of slavery in this Union; that, while they have steadfastly supported all sections in their constitutional rights, they have not only lamented its existence as a great social evil, but regarded it as fraught with danger to the peace and welfare of the nation.

2. *Resolved*, That while in periods of excitement the opponents of slavery have resorted to measures which we have thought it our duty to oppose and censure, on the other hand, slaveholding communities in many portions of this Confederacy have engaged in excitements, and resorted to measures equally deserving of the severest condemnation.

3. *Resolved*, That we stand pledged by our course, from the adoption of the Federal Constitution to the present time, to respect all the rights which that instrument guaranties to the slave States.

4. *Resolved*, That while we respect the rights of the slaveholding as well as the free portion of this Union, while we will not willingly consent that wrong be done to any member of the glorious Confederacy to which we belong, we are firmly and unalterably opposed to the extension of slavery over any portion of American soil now free.

5. *Resolved*, That the American Union is strongly based upon the affections of an overwhelming majority of the American people, that we trust that it will outlive for ages the threats with which fanaticism assails it; that, in its hour of peril, stout hearts and strong arms will be ready in every corner of our land to defend it; and that it will long continue here a proud ark of freedom, firm and enduring, the time-tried model after which shall be fashioned those free institutions which are hereafter to bestow their incalculable blessings upon the whole world.

6. *Resolved*, That, in our opinion, Congress has the constitutional power to abolish slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and that our Senators be instructed and our Representatives requested to take all constitutional measures to accomplish that object.

LITERARY NOTICES.

DISEASES OF WINTER. By J. R. Culverwell, M. D. New York: J. S. Redfield.

Dr. Culverwell is doing excellent service for the People, by teaching them in familiar style, how to avoid disease, and regulate their diet and regimen. This publication treats of consumption, coughs, colds, asthma, and other diseases of the chest, and, in addition to physiological, pathological, and therapeutical discussions, we find at the close of the work, two hundred formulæ of the latest and most approved remedies, many valuable domestic receipts, and full directions for the practice of inhalation.

TWELVE LECTURES ON COMPARATIVE EMBRYOLOGY. By Lewis Agassiz. Boston: Henry Flanders & Co.

TWELVE LECTURES ON COMPARATIVE PHYSIOLOGY. By Jeffries Wyman, M. D. Boston: Henry Flanders & Co.

If people starve for lack of knowledge in this country, it is their own fault. Here is an amount of science condensed and "done up" in these two cheaply printed publications, at twenty-five cents a-piece, which a century ago would have been expanded into a heavily bound, costly folio—forbidden fruit to the mass of the People.

The Lectures of Professor Agassiz embody, we presume, all of value that is known in a department of science, which has but recently become the subject of learned investigation. They were delivered before the Lowell Institute, in Boston, and are printed from the phonographic report made by Dr. J. W. Stone.

The Lectures of Dr. Wyman, on a subject of profound interest to all who would enlarge their view of the analogies of creation, were delivered before the same Institution, and reported by the same gentleman

Both publications are illustrated by numerous engravings, greatly contributing to the formation of proper conceptions of the subjects discussed, and communicate a great deal of curious and substantial knowledge in a popular way.

HISTORY OF JULIUS CÆSAR. By Jacob Abbott. Harper & Brothers: New York.

This is about the best of Abbott's series that we have seen. It is handsomely written, the narrative being clear and rapid, and the incidents selected so as to present a fine exhibition of the only usurper, for whom we ever felt the slightest sympathy.

For sale by Frank Taylor, Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D. C.

MANUAL OF ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY. By Wilhelm Putz. Edited by T. K. Arnold, M. A. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

This is a revised publication from the London edition, by Dr. Arnold, of a translation from the German of Wilhelm Putz, Principal Tutor at the Gymnasium of Druen. It is designed to enable the student to attain a clear and comprehensive view of the outlines of the Ancient world, of the succession and prominent relations of its great nations, and of its principal eras. The method pursued seems well adapted to this design.

For sale by R. Farnham, Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D. C.

A TREATISE ON ALGEBRA, for the Use of Schools and Colleges. By S. Chase, Professor of Mathematics in Dartmouth College. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

The publishers deserve great credit for the manner in which they get up these school books—with good paper, clear type, and substantial binding.

This treatise is "intended to exhibit such a view of the principles of Algebra, as shall best prepare the student for the further pursuit of mathematical studies." The author claims that his discussion of the theory of exponents and powers, is original. He uses a method intended to relieve students from most of the difficulty they find in latter parts of the course, owing to "a want of familiarity with the algebraic expressions employed, and with the elementary operations performed upon them. For sale as above.

CHALMERS'S POSTHUMOUS WORKS. Vol. VI. New York: Harper & Brothers. For sale by F. Taylor, bookseller, Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D. C.

This volume contains thirty-three sermons of Dr. Chalmers, not heretofore published, selected by the editor, Mr. Hanna, with a view of illustrating the changes both in the literary style and manner of preaching of the Doctor, at different stages of his ministry, from 1798 to 1847. Independently, then, of the intrinsic merits of the sermons, they are peculiarly interesting as illustrating the intellectual and spiritual progress of Dr. Chalmers.

In the early part of his career, he was far from being what is called an evangelical preacher. A fast-day discourse, delivered by him in the year 1804, is remarkable for the absence of the slightest recognition of Divine Providence. It would have been as appropriate to the hustings as to the pulpit. Nor were his sermons at that period characterized by that affluence of thought, and magnificence of style, for which, in later years, he became distinguished. The first sermon, written when he was eighteen years of age, is commonplace in its conceptions; its sentences are short, and almost meager in language. The keenest critic would have detected in it no sign of that genius to which we are indebted for the astronomical discourses whose fame has gone out into all the world.

REVELATIONS ON CHOLERA. By Samuel Dickson, M. D.

A small publication with this title has been issued by H. Long & Brother, New York. We have not had time to read it, but we have no doubt that it deserves to be read. The author is a bold thinker, original and independent, and would scarcely take the trouble to put pen to paper, unless he had something worthy of communicating.

SUMNER'S ADDRESS BEFORE THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

CHARLES SUMNER is no less remarkable for the nobleness of his themes, than the ability with which he treats them. His many public addresses are marked by a thorough appreciation of the highest interests of Man, by an expansive Christian philanthropy, by clearness of method, purity of diction, and great wealth of illustration. In the address before us, after having stripped the subject to be discussed of all extraneous questions, he proceeds, first, to unfold the true character of war, and the war system involving the preparations for war, and the question of a militia; secondly, the means by which the system can be overthrown, passing in review the tendencies and examples of nations, and the efforts of individuals constituting the Peace Movement, indicating auguries of its triumph, and dwelling at the close on some practical suggestions.

We should like to quote liberally from this eloquent production, but we have room at present only for a brief extract from a beautiful passage on the tendency of the age to *Unity:*

"Civilization now writhes in great travail and torment, and asks for liberation from the oppressive sway of the War System. Like a slave, under a weary weight of chains, it raises its exhausted arms, and pleads for the angel Deliverer. And lo! the beneficent angel comes—not like the Grecian God of Day, with vengeful arrow to slay the destructive Python—not like the Archangel Michael, with potent spear to transfix Satan to the earth, but with words of gentleness and Christian cheer, saying to all nations, and to all children of men, 'Ye are all brothers, of *one* flesh, of *one* fold, of *one* shepherd, children of *one* Father, heirs to *one* happiness. By your own energies, by united fraternal endeavors, in the name of Christ, shall the tyranny of War be overthrown, and its Juggernaut be crushed to the earth.'

"It is in this spirit, and with this encouragement, that we should labor for that grand and final object, the watchword of all ages, the Unity of the Human Family. Not in benevolence, but in selfishness, has this been sought in times past; not to promote the happiness of all, but to establish the dominion of one. It was the mad lust for power which carried Alexander from conquest to conquest, till he boasted that the whole world was his empire, and the Macedonian phalanx his citadel. Again: the same passion animated Rome
till at last, while Christ lay in his manger, thi
city swayed broader lands than were swayed b
Alexander. The Gospel, in its simple narrativ
says, 'and it came to pass about these times, tha
a decree went out from Cæsar Augustus, that a
the world should be taxed.' History points to th
exile of Ovid, who, falling under the displeasur
of this same Emperor, was condemned to close h
days in vain longings for Rome, far away in Pon
tus, beyond the Euxine Sea. With singular sig
nificance, these two contemporaneous inciden
reveal the universality of Roman dominio
stretching from Britain to Parthia. But this em
pire crumbled, to be re-constructed for a bri
moment, in part by Charlemagne, in part by Tam
erlane. In our own age, Napoleon has made
last effort for Unity, founded on Force. And no
from his utterance at St. Helena, the expresse
wisdom of his unparalleled experience, comes th
remarkable confession, worthy of constant mem
ory: 'The more more I study the world, the mor
I am convinced of the inability of brute force t
create anything durable.' From the sepulchre o
Napoleon, now sleeping on the banks of the Sein
surrounded by the vain trophies of battle—nay
more, from the sepulchres of all these broken em
pires—seem to proceed the words, 'They th
take the sword shall perish by the sword.'

"Unity is the longing and tendency of Human
ity; not the enforced Unity of military powe
not the Unity of might triumphant over righ
not the Unity of inequality; not the Unity whic
occupied the soul of Dante, when in his treatis
De Monarchia, the earliest political work of mo
ern times, he strove to show that all the world
ought to be governed by one man, the successo
of the Roman Emperor. Not these, but the bles
ed voluntary Unity of the various peoples of th
earth in fraternal labors; the Unity which wa
promised, when it was said, 'there is neither Je
nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there
neither male nor female, for ye are all one i
Christ Jesus;' the Unity which has filled the d
lighted vision of good men, of prophets, of sages an
poets, in times past; the Unity which, in our ow
age, prompted Beranger, the incomparable lyri
of France, in an immortal ode, to salute the Hol
Alliance of the peoples, summoning them in a
lands, and by whatever names they may be calle
French, English, Belgian, German, Russian,
give to each other the hand, to the end that th
useless thunderbolts of War shall all be quenche
and Peace shall sow the earth with gold, wi
flowers, and with corn; the Unity which promp
ed an early American statesman and poet to a
ticipate the time when all the nations shall me
in Congress—

To give each realm its limits and its laws,
Bid the last breath of dire contention cease,
And bind all regions in the leagues of Peace,
Bid one great empire, with extensive sway,
Spread with the sun, and bound the walks of day,
One centred system, one all-ruling soul
Live through the parts, and regulate the whole;

the Unity which has inspired the contempora
British poet, of exquisite beauty, Alfred Tenn
son, to hail the certain day,

When the drum shall throb no longer,
And the battle-flags be furled,
In the Parliament of man,
The Federation of the World.

GRAHAM'S MAGAZINE.

The number for this month appears with i
usual attractions. The *Golden Age* is excelle
as a work of art; but the babies of that gold
time are not half so beautiful as some we wot
born in this Iron Age. Mrs. Caroline Butler h
a capital story in this number, illustrating t
beauty of Christian charity.

GODEY'S LADY'S BOOK.

The August number is upon our table. Amo
the numerous engravings, none is more pleas
to our eye than the wood cut of a scene at Ca
May. The bathers *en costume*, plashing, tumbli
and rolling in the cool surf, made us feel envio
The tales and sketches and poetry are good
usual. A little more substance in these mag
zines would help their usefulness, without m
ring their attractions.

ROWLAND CASHEL. Part II. By Charles Lever. Ill
trated by Phiz.

This story improves as it progresses. We a
not less painfully impressed by the pictures it pr
sents of "high life" in Ireland, than we were
the first number. The author is a spirited wri
He tells a good story, and paints well. T
work is beautifully got up, with illustrations,
the Harpers, New York, and for sale by Fran
Taylor, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington, D.

THE WOODMAN: A Romance of the Times of Richard
By G. P. R. James, Esq. New York: Harper & Brother

In these days of change and turmoil, it is n
unpleasant to travel back in the annals of tim
and dwell awhile amid the scenes of rural qu
and peace, alternating with intestine feuds a
bloody wars, oppressions and outrages, perpetr
ed in the name of God and the King, just to k
things *in statu quo*. We cannot sympathize w
the author in his lament for the days that a
gone. He says: "The Arab's hut, built amo
the ruins of the Temple of the Sun, is a fit ty
of modern man, contrasted with the races th
have passed." This means nothing, or it mea
more than any reasonable man will admit:
means that all the improvements in art, scien
and literature, have achieved nothing for ma
kind—that the lights of Revealed Religion a
the new spirit breathed by Christianity have do
nothing but dispel those lofty superstitions, und
the influence of which the old Greek and Rom
ascended to such unrivalled heights in the sca
of being!

Apart from this stuff, the book possesses
common interest. Those who love to linger
the forest walks, amid the sylvan scenes of ol
time England, will like it.

CHOLERA.

New Orleans free from it.

In Cincinnati and St. Louis, abating.

"At Cincinnati, during the month ending Ju
16, the whole number of deaths was 3,618, of whic
2,475 were by Cholera, making an average m
tality, for the time embraced, of *one hundred a*
seventeen per day. The weekly mortality dur
this period was as follows: first three days,
June 18, 138; first week, to June 25, 569; seco
week, to July 2, 940; third week, to July 9, 1,0
fourth week, to July 16, 950. The Cincinn
Gazette, in publishing these statistics, again
vites attention to the great disproportion of t
mortality amongst the foreign population, wh
although less than one-third of the entire nu
ber of inhabitants, furnishes nearly three-four
of the entire mortality. The exact proporti
are: Emigrant population, 70.1 per cent.; Am
can population, 22.6; interments in Potter's Fie
7.3. The deaths in Cincinnati, on Saturday l
were only *sixty*, thirty-two of them being fr
cholera, and evidencing a rapid decline in t
disease.

"The St. Louis Reveille of the 11th instant e
hibits a statistical table of the mortality in th
city from the 2d of January, 1849, to the 9th
the present month. The aggregate number of
terments during that period has been 5,537,
which 3,262 were deaths from Cholera. The c
rectness of this table is placed beyond doubt, a
was taken from the official report of the Ci
Register. We have the unofficial record of t
subsequent period, by telegraph and otherwise,
the 18th instant, inclusive, showing 1,066, inte
ments, of which 780 were by Cholera; maki
the aggregate mortality from the 2d of Janua
to that date 6,603, of which 4,042 were by Cho
ra. Our latest accounts show that the interme
on Thursday last were only 66, one-half of th
being of persons who had died of the Chole
This confirms the opinion heretofore express
that the epidemic was abating."

In New York, the disease is yet limited. Sev
ty-five cases and thirty deaths reported on t
22d July.

Philadelphia—29 cases and 12 deaths on t
22d July.

Boston—3 cases and 2 deaths on the 20th Ju

Montreal—36 cases and 19 deaths on the 20th

Baltimore—No cases reported in the city.
the Alms-House, 11 cases, 4 deaths on Sunday

In Washington no cases reported.

In Richmond it seems to be on the decline.

IOWA.

The Free Democracy of Iowa have nomin
ed William Allen for President of the Boa
of Public Works; Dr. Miller, of Van Bure
for Secretary; and Dr. Waters, of Muscati
for Treasurer. In some of the counties, Uni
Conventions of the Free and Old Democra
have been called, with a view of adopting the B
falo Platform.

MR. WILLEY, announced as the editor of t
Michigan Liberty Press, declines the responsi
lity, until the necessary means be provided.

NEW YORK CORRESPONDENCE.

New York, *July* 23, 1849.

Since my last letter, we have been called to lament the loss of several eminent citizens, whose departure from different spheres of honorable activity has awakened the sympathy of our whole community.

David B. Ogden bore a name of the highest distinction in the annals of the Empire State. He was universally honored and beloved for the possession of those qualities, whose genuine exhibition always commands esteem. He was a man without affectation and without pretence. Of singular simplicity in his manners, his dress, his prevailing tastes, he might often pass for less than his real worth. But no one could know him intimately without being impressed by the soundness of his intellect, the sobriety of his judgment, the extent of his attainments, and the kindliness of his disposition. His legal knowledge, the fruit of the assiduous study of a long life, no less than his venerable age and experience, gave him a most distinguished position at the New York bar; and his sudden, though not premature, decease has called forth a deep and universal expression of admiration, from his professional brethren.

He was among the few surviving members of the old Federal party — a school of politicians, which, to whatever criticism it may be exposed for its want of sympathy with the progressive mission of this country, its lack of faith in the safety and power of the highest principles of truth and justice, and its temporizing attachment to the decrepid institutions of past ages, with no perception of the grand, humanitary development of history, it must be acknowledged, numbered in its ranks an uncommon proportion of men whose rare private worth, whose spotless patriotism, and whose unimpeachable public integrity, would have made them the pride and ornament of any party or any country.

In another walk of society, the death of James Reyburn has left a chasm which will not easily be filled. He was a frank, generous, cordial Irishman, of great public spirit, and with a heart overflowing with genuine benevolence. He was the active friend of the helpless emigrant, who always found in him a judicious counsellor, a faithful patron, and a liberal benefactor. His warm affections and genial manners made him a universal favorite; and never were shed sincerer tears than those which moisten his grave.

We have also just received intelligence of the death of Harmanus Bleecker, of Albany, another distinguished citizen of the old school, whose career in legal, political, and diplomatic functions has been one of the most brilliant distinction. He belonged to the pure Knickerbocker race, of which he was in all respects a favorable specimen. He was no less beloved for the modesty and amenity of his manners, the cheerfulness of his temper, and the strength of his friendship, than he was honored for the vigor and acuteness of his intellect, and the variety of his erudition.

You are acquainted with Thomas Earle, of Philadelphia, whose death has also been announced to us the past week, and of course knew the sterling independence and unworldly devotedness of his character. I never met with him but on one occasion. At that time, I had frequent interviews with him, and, though he was then in feeble health, I was struck with his evident originality of thought, the zeal and logical shrewdness with which he maintained his opinions, and the manly candor with which he listened to the expression of new ideas.

He possessed an open, inquiring spirit; it must have been a strong chain which could bind the freedom of his mind; and the liberty which he loved himself he wished to guaranty to all. His efforts in behalf of the slave are well known to the advocates of emancipation; nor did he withhold his sympathy from any movement in the interests of humanity; and of late years he had given much attention to the question of social reorganization, which he had begun to regard as paramount to all others.

Let me add to this list of lamented citizens the name of Theodore Lyman, of Boston, who was Mayor of that city at the time of the celebrated "ruffled-shirt and broadcloth" mob, which convened to "snake out" George Thompson from an Abolition meeting. Mr. Lyman at that time exposed himself in the midst of the mob, took Mr. Garrison, who was greatly in danger, under his special protection, and, by his decision and firmness, was probably the means of saving him from severe injury, if not from destruction. Mr. Lyman was a gentleman of superior education, and inherited a princely fortune from his father, an eminent Boston merchant, who arose from a condition of obscure poverty in the State of Maine, to the rank of a millionaire. He spent several years of his early life in European travel, and soon after his return published a work on "Italy," and another on "Foreign Diplomacy," which met with a favorable reception at first, but were afterwards lost sight of in the throng and pressure of more exciting literature. He, too, was a Massachusetts Federalist by birth and early association. Brought up at the feet of Christopher Gore, George Cabot, Harrison Gray Otis, Thomas H. Perkins, and other tall pillars of that school in the old Bay State, he inherited their principles. In the struggle between John Quincy Adams and Gen. Jackson, however, his bitter aversion to the dereliction of principle, as he regarded it, displayed by Mr. Adams in the desertion of his party, led him to give a vigorous support to the Hero of New Orleans. He edited a newspaper for a short time, in the interests of Jackson; and while acting in this capacity, his quotation of Mr. Adams's charge of treason against the Federalists of Massachusetts, with the expression of surprise that the subjects of such an accusation should still fraternize with its author, and allow him to "sit at their tables, to break their bread, to eat their salt, and to drink their wine," brought upon him a prosecution for libel by Daniel Webster, whose name had been taken in vain, in connection with this controversy. From the eminence of the parties, and its political bearings, this suit excited no small sensation for a while, but it was permitted to subside by the disagreement of the jury, on coming to trial, and is now generally forgotten. Like so many great men in Massachusetts, Mr. Lyman had been a militia General in his day. I well remember his elegant and commanding appearance at the head of his brigade on Boston Common. He was one of the most truly gentlemanly men in this country, with remarkable grace in every movement. I never saw a man sit a horse with more ease, and his unique white plume rivalled the beauty and splendor of Murat's. He was not a man of parade, however, though he was a General; and as the wicked Chronotype remarks of him, "he was an honest man, though he was a lawyer." His residence was a beautiful villa in the vicinity of Boston, and one of the finest specimens of domestic architecture in the United States. His character is summed up by saying, that he was a man of exquisite taste, of consummate propriety in all his actions, of delicate conscientiousness, and of more than ordinary goodness of heart. His wife was from a distinguished family in this city, of remarkable personal beauty, and varied accomplishments. He survived her many years.

I listened yesterday afternoon to an interesting discourse by the Rev. Joshua Leavitt before a small society of colored people, called the Bethesda Church. It was not one of the rousing Boanergean efforts, with which Mr. Leavitt is so well able to start men from their seats at a crowded anniversary meeting; nor did it present the appalling array of facts and statistics with which he is wont to force conviction even from the most reluctant hearer, as if by hydrostatic pressure; but a calm, earnest, affectionate, pastoral appeal to the hearts of the audience, showing the injury of sin to the soul, and exhorting them to the faithful discharge of duty. It was listened to with fixed attention by the little band of worshippers, who are a good specimen of the best portion of the colored population of this city. I do not wish to make one of an audience with more decent and orderly behaviour, or more apparent interest in the services. Whatever sneers may be expressed at the character of a colored congregation, I am sure that this displayed the cardinal virtues both of cleanliness and godliness, which, according to John Wesley, are the two main conditions of salvation.

Among the new works announced in preparation, I perceive a volume of Essays on Representative Men, by Ralph Waldo Emerson, which is probably a collection of the Lectures on Shakspeare, Napoleon, Swedenborg, and others, which were delivered with great success in Boston, New York, London, and elsewhere. The book will create a sensation among the admirers of this American Montaigne. I see announced, also, a "Discourse of Christianity," by Theodore Parker, which will, no doubt, have the virtue of setting people a thinking, if nothing more. Parker is a sincere, earnest, whole-souled man, in spite of his audacious heresies. Hildreth's second volume will be forthcoming soon. So, too, I hope, will be Bancroft's fourth. C. N. E.

From the Alexandria Gazette.

MR. CALHOUN'S ADDRESS.

We have received Mr. Calhoun's "Address to the People of the *Southern States*," in reply to Mr. Benton's recent attack upon him. It is exceedingly long, and we must therefore content ourselves, without filling our columns with the whole of it, with giving our readers a general idea of its contents. The opening paragraph is this:

Several reasons would have prevented me from taking any notice of Colonel Benton, if his attack in his late speech delivered in the Capital of Missouri had been directed exclusively against me. The line of conduct I have prescribed to myself, in reference to him, is to have as little to do with him as possible, and I accordingly never notice what comes from him, even in his character as Senator, when I can avoid doing so consistently with my public duties. I regard him in a light very different from what he seems to regard me, if we may judge from the frequency and violence of his attacks on me. He seems to think I stand in his way, and that I am even engaged in some scheme to put him down. I, on the contrary, have never for a moment thought of raising him to the level of a competitor or rival, nor considered it of any importance to me whether he should be put down or not. He must think he has something to gain by assailing me; I, on the contrary, feel that I have nothing to gain by noticing him, and, when compelled to do so, am satisfied if I escape without some loss of self-respect. I have another reason for not desiring to notice him on the present occasion. All his charges against me, with few and trifling exceptions, are but the reiterations of those often made heretofore by himself and others, and which I have met and successfully repelled in my place in the Senate. That they made no impression against me at the time, either in the Senate or community, there can be no better proof than is afforded in the laborious and tiresome effort he made in his present speech to revive and give them circulation.

Under the influence of these reasons, I would have remained silent had I alone been concerned. But such is not the case. His blow is aimed much more at you than me. He strikes at me for the double purpose of weakening me in your confidence, and of striking at you and your cause through me, which he thinks can be done more effectually indirectly than directly. Thus regarding his attack, I feel it to be a duty I owe you and your cause to repel it.

The effort of Colonel Benton, from the beginning to the end of his speech, is to make out that I have ever been unfaithful to your cause, and true to that of the Free-Soilers and Abolitionists; while, on the contrary, you had in him an unknown but faithful friend on all occasions. He assumes that you and they have been both mistaken in reference to my course; you in regarding me as a friend and supporter of your cause, and they in regarding me as hostile to theirs. Judged by appearances, his object would seem to be to dispel this delusion, while in truth it is, to give you and your cause what he hopes will prove deadly blows. This the Abolitionists and Free-Soilers well understand. The disguise was not assumed to deceive them, but to deceive you. They understand him, and have hailed with acclamation his speech, and published and circulated it far and near, and glorified it and its author to the skies. They rejoice in the belief that it has demolished me, and this, too, while it holds me up as the truest and best friend of their cause. It remains to be seen whether you will understand him as perfectly as they do, and will meet the speech so lauded by them with the reprobation due to effrontery and desertion. It is not the first time that a deserter has had the assurance to address those he deserted, and, while professing regard for their cause, denounced those who remained faithful to it. The history of our Revolution furnishes a notorious instance of the kind. The deserter in that instance failed to deceive those whom he addressed, or to shake their confidence in those who remained faithful to them, and, in return for his effrontery and desertion, have sent his name down to posterity with reprobation. It remains to be seen whether such will be the fate of the deserter in this instance.

Mr. Calhoun then proceeds to take up and reply at length to Mr. Benton's charges against him: That he introduced his "resolutions" into the Senate for "disunion purposes"—that he had changed his opinions since he was member of Mr. Monroe's Cabinet on the power of Congress over the Territories—that he "gave away Texas" originally, &c. With regard to the second charge, he says:

To substantiate the charge of a change of opinion, he introduces a copy of what purports to be a draft of a letter found among the papers of Mr. Monroe. It is said to be in his handwriting. It is without date, not signed, or addressed to any person by name, but contained expressions which leave no doubt that it was intended for General Jackson. This paper was found filed away with another endorsed "Interrogatories—Missouri—March 3d, 1820." "To the Heads of Departments and Attorney General." It contained two questions, of which the one pertinent to the present subject is in the following words: "Has Congress a right, under the powers vested in the Constitution, to make a regulation prohibiting slavery in a Territory?" The only material sentence in the draft of the letter in reference to the point under consideration is the following words: "I took the opinion, in writing, of the Administration, as to the constitutionality of restraining Territories, which was explicit in favor of it." These are the exact words of the sentence, as finally corrected by its author. It is explicit as to the statement that the Administration, as a body, was in favor of the constitutionality, but furnishes no proof whatever of its members being unanimous, and of course no evidence that I, or any other particular member of the Cabinet, was in its favor.

This deficiency Colonel Benton undertakes to supply, first from the interlining, and next from a statement purporting to be from the diary of Mr. Adams. First, as to the interlining, instead of the expression, which was "explicit" as it now stands, it read in the original draft, "and the vote of every member was explicit." These words were all struck out except "explicit," and in their place the following words were interlined in the first instance, "which were unanimous, and," afterwards the words "unanimous and" were struck out, which left the paper as it now stands. Now, I hold it to be clear that the interlining and striking out, so far from strengthening the inference that the Cabinet were unanimous, as Colonel Benton contends, it strengthens and sustains the very opposite. So far, then, it is certain the draft of the letter, standing by itself, instead of furnishing proof that the Cabinet were unanimous, furnishes proof directly to the contrary. Even Colonel Benton himself seems to have been conscious that it furnished no satisfactory proof as to the unanimity of the Cabinet, and endeavors to supply this defect from statements purporting to be taken from the diary of Mr. Adams. From these, it would appear that a meeting of the Cabinet was held on the 3d of March, for the first time, to consider the compromise bill; and that, according to the statement of Mr. Adams, the Cabinet were unanimous upon the question of constitutionality. It also appears that the President sent him the two questions on the 5th of March, informing him at the same time that he desired answers in writing from the members of the Cabinet, and that the answers would be in time if received the next day. Such is the substance of the statement purporting to be taken from his diary.

Connecting this with the draft as it originally stood, and the subsequent alterations, including the date of the memorandum filed with it, the natural interpretation of the whole affair is, that Mr. Monroe drew up interrogatories, and the draft of his letter intended for General Jackson, on the 4th of March, the date of the memorandum. It could not have been earlier, according to the diary of Mr. Adams, nor probably later. He did not date the draft, because the letter could not be finished and transmitted to General Jackson until after he had signed the bill. The draft was drawn up as it stood, in all probability, on the basis of the opinion expressed on the 3d of March, the first day of the meeting of the Cabinet, and which, at the time, as the diary states, was "unanimous," and the doubts and uncertainty of opinion were expressed by some of the members on the two subsequent days, (the 5th and 6th of March,) which caused the interlining and the first modification of the draft as it now stands. It is difficult to give any other explanation.

I now turn to Colonel Benton's reasoning upon the subject. He alleges that the words "and vote of every member was explicit," were struck out and "explicit" inserted, evidently to avoid violating the rule of Cabinet secrets, not to tell the opinion of members, which the word "unanimous" would do. His statement contains two errors as to fact. "Explicit" was in the original draft, and never struck out. Unanimous made no part of the original draft, as he supposes. It was a part of the interlining at first, but subsequently struck out. All this is apparent from a certified copy of the paper now before me. Thus his reasoning falls to the ground. He carries the rule of Cabinet secrets very far—much farther than he does the same rule applied to the secrets of the Senate. Who ever heard that it was a violation of any rule of Cabinet secrets to say the Administration was unanimous or divided? It is constantly said, in reference to their meetings, and yet he would have you believe that it would have been a breach of confidence in Mr. Monroe, in writing a confidential letter to a friend of high standing, to say that his Cabinet were unanimous; and especially as the question was one of constitutionality, and not of policy. What member of any Cabinet would be so base and cowardly as to desire to conceal his opinion on a constitutional question? Who, accordingly, did not know at the time, that the opinion of the Cabinet of General Washington was divided on the question of chartering a bank, and what side every member took? Colonel Benton's explanation is destitute of even plausibility, and leaves the draft to speak for itself, as it stands; and that clearly is against the Cabinet being unanimous. The diary of Mr. Adams furnishes the only opposing evidence. Now, I hold it to be a sound rule, that a diary is no evidence of a fact against any one, but he who keeps it. The opposite rule would place the character of every man at the mercy of whoever keeps a diary. It is not my object to call in question the veracity of Mr. Adams, but he was a man of strong prejudices, hasty temper, and much disposed to view things as he desired. From his temperament, he would be liable to notice and mark what fell within his own views, and to pass unnoticed what did not. I venture little in saying, that if his diary should be published during the lifetime of those who were on the stage with him, its statements would be contradicted by many, and confirm all I have stated. But few statements from it have yet been brought to the notice of the public, but even of these few, two have been contradicted: one (if my recollection serves me) related to General Jackson, and the other to a Mr. Harris, of Philadelphia, during the administration of Mr. Monroe.

Opposed to the statement of Mr. Adams stands the fact, that no opinions, as is admitted by Col. Benton, are to be found on the files of the Department of State, nor any evidence that any such opinions were ever filed, although the statement purporting to be from the diary of Mr. Adams says that Mr. Monroe directed them to be filed. One or two things would seem to be clear—either he fell into an error in making the entry, or that he failed to place them on file, in consequence of some subsequent direction from the President. It is hardly possible, if they had been placed on file, but that they would still be there, or some evidence, in existence, that they had been there. My own recollection is, that Mr. Monroe requested the opinion of the members of his Cabinet in writing; but that, in consequence of a want of time to prepare a written opinion, or some other cause, none was given; and this I stated in the Senate, when General Dix brought up the question as to the opinion of the Cabinet of Mr. Monroe, before the fact was disclosed, that there was no written opinion on the files of the Department. I have entire confidence that, if any was given, it amounted to no more than the simple affirmation, or negation, of the power. The time did not admit the preparation of an elaborate opinion, and, if any such had been given, it is impossible that I should forget it, and next to impossible that it should so long have remained concealed from the public. As to the insinuation, that I am the only member of the Cabinet of Mr. Monroe who has since been Secretary of State, and all others of like character, I pass them with the silent contempt due to their baseness, and the source whence they came.

In another place, Mr. Calhoun says:

But, according to his own statement, he is impelled in making his attacks by private grief, as well as public considerations. He says I instigated attacks on him for twenty years. I instigate attacks on him! He must have a very exalted opinion of himself. I never thought of such a thing. We move in different spheres. My course is, and has been, to have nothing to do with him. I never wanted his support nor dreaded his opposition. He took the same ground in his speech, just referred to, and endeavored to establish the charge by what purported to be an extract from a letter, which he states was delivered to him by some person unnamed, and was written by an unknown person to an unknown person. He introduced it into the Senate in a manner to make the impression that I was its author. I arose, and asked him if he intended to assert that I was. He stood mute at first, but was forced to admit that I was not. I then repelled his charge with a scorn which the base insinuation, that I had any knowledge or connection with it whatever, deserved. He was covered with confusion; and yet he has the effrontery to introduce it again to the public, accompanied with the same insinuation which covered him with disgrace at its first introduction.

Mr. Calhoun indignantly repels the charge of seeking to bring about disunion, and explains and vindicates his course in the various matters connected with the annexation of Texas.

We give the conclusion of the address entire:

I have passed over all that was directed against me personally, and not intended to impeach my fidelity to you and your cause; because it did not fall within the reasons which induced me to notice him at all. I have also passed over the torrent of abuse he has poured out against me, not only for the same reason, but because I deem it beneath my notice. He doubtless thinks differently, and regards it as the finest portion of his speech; for he has used expressions which pretty clearly indicate that he anticipates it will raise him to the level of the great Athenian orator, for indignant denunciation. He mistakes his fate. He will be fortunate should he escape sinking to the level of Thersites. He seems not to apprehend that the difference is wide between the indignant eloquence of patriotism and truth, and scurrilous defamation. I also pass over his attack on the Southern Address, because it has been too generally read, and is too well understood by you, for him to do any mischief by assailing it. The wonder is, that he should venture to make an attack in open daylight. The remote twilight region of the past, lying between truth and fiction, best suits his taste and genius.

Passing all these by, I am brought to where he throws off his disguise, and enters the camp of the enemy, and, openly proclaiming himself an Abolitionist, endorses all their doctrines, and steps forth as their champion. In that character he assumes a dictatorial air, and pronounces that it is absurd to deny the power of Congress to legislate as it pleases on the subject of slavery in the Territories; that it has exercised the power from the foundation, without being questioned, until I introduced my resolutions; that slavery is local in its character, that it must be created by law, and cannot be carried an inch beyond the limits of the State that enacted it; that slaves cannot be carried into New Mexico or California, because the Mexican laws abolished slavery there, and are still in force; and concludes that it is a mere abstract question of no importance, because the people there, and especially the foreigners, are opposed to it, and will not permit you to emigrate into the Territory with your slaves.

I do not propose to enter into a formal competition of assertions so ostentatiously pronounced. It is not necessary. They were the same that were put forth and relied on by those opposed to you in the discussion on the Oregon Territorial bill, during the session preceding the last; and which were then fully met and refuted by me and others, who took your side of the question. What I now propose is a very summary and brief notice of these several assertions.

I begin with that which asserts that Congress has the power to do as it pleases, upon the subject of slavery in the Territories. I deny the assertion, and maintain that Congress has no such power over slavery there or elsewhere, or over any other subject. I deny that Congress has any absolute power whatever, or that it has any of any description, except such as are specifically delegated, or that are necessary and proper to carry them into execution. I maintain that all its powers are delegated and trust powers, and not positive and absolute, and that all of the latter description belongs exclusively to the people of the several States in their sovereign character. I also hold that Congress is but their representative and trustee, and that, in carrying into execution its powers, it cannot rightfully exercise any inconsistent with the nature and object of the trust, or with the character of the party who created the trust, and for whose benefit it was created. I finally hold, that instead of having the absolute power over the Territories of doing as it please, that Congress is restrained by all these limitations, and that its power to exclude you from emigrating with your slaves into them cannot be maintained without denying that ours is a Government of which States, and not individuals, are the constituents, and that Congress holds its powers as delegated and trust powers. Nor can it be maintained, without assuming that ours is a consolidated Government, and holds its powers absolutely in its own sovereign right of doing as it pleases.

I also deny the truth of his next assertion, that it has exercised the power over the Territories, as it pleased, without being questioned, until I introduced my resolutions. I maintain, on the contrary, that such power never was exercised by Congress, until he and his associates passed the Oregon Territorial bill. That was the first bill containing the Wilmot Proviso that ever passed, as has been stated—passed solely to assert the absolute right of doing as it pleases. All others, including the Ordinance of 1787, were passed as compromises which waived the question of power, as has been frequently shown. Nor is his assertion more correct, that the power never was questioned, until the introduction of my resolutions. It was questioned from the start, beginning with the Ordinance of 1787. Mr. Madison pronounced that it was adopted without a shadow of right. Since then, it has been acquiesced in, not as a right, but as a compromise, until the North refused all compromise, and forced the South to stand on its rights, where it should have stood from the first.

The next assertion, that slavery is local in its character, that it must be enacted by law, and cannot be carried an inch beyond the limits of the State that enacted it, is equally unmaintainable. It is clear that in making it he intended to affirm that in these respects property in slaves stands on very different ground from every other description of property.

I deny the fact, and maintain that there is no distinction between it and other property in that respect. It no more requires to be enacted by law, or, to express it more specifically, to have a positive enactment for its origin, than property in land or anything else. The relation of master and slave was one of the first and most universal forms in which property existed. It is so ancient that there is no record of its origin. It is probably more ancient than separate and distinct property in lands, and quite as easily defended on abstract principles. So far from being created by positive enactment, I know of no instance in which it ever was, or, to express it more accurately, in which it had its origin in acts of legislatures. It is always older than the laws which undertake to regulate it, and such is the case with slavery as it exists with us. They were for the most part slaves in Africa, they were bought as slaves, brought here as slaves, sold here as slaves, and held as slaves, long before any enactment made them slaves. I even doubt whether there is a single State in the South that ever enacted them to be slaves. There are hundreds of acts that recognise and regulate them as such, but none, I apprehend, that undertake to create them slaves. Master and slaves are constantly regarded as preëxisting relations.

Nor is it any more local in its character than other property. The laws of all countries, in reference to everything, including property of every kind, *are local*, and cannot go an inch beyond the limits to which the authority of the country extends. In case of property of every description, if it passes beyond the authority of the country where it is, into another, where the same description of things are regarded as property, it continues to be so there, but becomes subject to the laws and regulations of the place in reference to such property. But, if it be prohibited, as property, in the country into which it passes, it ceases to be so, unless it has been forced in, under circumstances which placed it under the protection of international laws. Thus, one and the same principle apply in this respect to all property; in things animate or inanimate, and rational or irrational. There can be no exception, as property everywhere, and of every kind, is subject to the control of the authority of the country. Thus far, I hold, that there can be no reasonable doubt.

Nor can there be any, that the same principle applies between the several States in our system of government. Slaves or any other property carried into a State where it is also property, continues still to be so; but if into one where it is prohibited, it ceases to be property. This is admitted, too, by all. It is also admitted by all, that the General Government cannot overrule the laws of a State, as to what shall or shall not be property, without the limits of its authority. The only question, then, is, what is the power of the General Government where its authority extends beyond the limits of the authority of the States, regarded in their separate or individual character? Or, to make it more specific, can it determine what shall or shall not be property in the Territories, or wherever else its authority extends, beyond that of the States separately? Or, to make it still more so, can it establish slavery in the Territories? Can it enact a law providing that any negro or mulatto found in the Territories of the United States shall be a slave, and be liable to be seized and treated as such by whoever may choose to do so? According to Colonel Benton's doctrine, that Congress may legislate as it pleases upon the subject of slavery in the Territories, it would have the power, but I doubt whether there is another individual who would agree with him. But, if it has not the power to establish slavery in the Territories, how can it have the power to abolish it? The one is the counterpart of the other; and where is the provision of the Constitution to be found, which authorizes the one and forbids the other?

The same question may be propounded as to public and private vessels belonging to the United States and their citizens on the high seas; for the principle which applies to the Territories equally applies to them, and to all places to which the authority of the General Government extends beyond the States, regarded separately.

It is indeed a great misconception of the character and object of the General Government, to suppose that it has the power either to establish or abolish slavery, or any other property, where its authority extends beyond the limits of the States, regarded individually. Its authority is but the united and joint authority of the several States, conferred upon it by a Constitution adopted on mutual agreement, but by the separate act of each State, in like manner, in every respect, as each adopted its own separate Constitution, with the single exception, that one was adopted without and the the other on mutual agreement of all the States. It is then, in fact, the Constitution of each State, as much so as its own separate Constitution, and is only the Constitution of all the States, because it is that of each. As the Constitution made the General Government, that too is, in like manner, as much the Government of each State as its own separate Government, and only the Government of all, because it is the Government of each. So likewise are its laws, and for the same reason. Its authority, then, is but the united and common authority of the several States, delegated by each, to be exercised for the mutual benefit of each and all, and for the greater security of the rights and interest of each and all. It was for that purpose the States united in a Federal Union, and adopted a common Constitution and Government. With the same view, they conferred upon the Government whatever power it has of regulating and protecting what appertained to their exterior relations among themselves and with the rest of the world. Each, in brief, agreed with the others to unite their joint authority and power to protect the safety and rights and promote the interest of each by their united power.

Such is clearly the character and object of the General Government, and of the authority and power conferred on it. Its power and authority having for its object the more perfect protection and promotion of the safety and rights of each and all, it is bound to protect by their united power the safety, the rights, the property, and the interests of the citizens of all, wherever its authority extends. That was the object for conferring whatever power and authority it has; and if it fails to fulfil that, it falls to perform the duty for which it was created. It is enough for it to know that it is the right, interest, or property, of a citizen of one of the States, to make it its duty to protect it whenever it comes within the sphere of its authority, whether in the Territories, or on the high seas, or anywhere else. Its power and authority were conferred on it, not to establish or to abolish property, or rights of any description, but to protect them. To establish or abolish belongs to the States, in their separate, sovereign capacity — the capacity in which they created both the General and their separate State Governments. It would be, then, a total and gross perversion of its power and authority to use them to establish or abolish slavery, or any other property of the citizens of the United States, in the Territories. All the power it has, in that respect, is to recognise as property there, whatever is recognised as such by the authority of any of the States, its own being but the united authority of each and all of the States, and to adopt such laws for its regulation and protection as the state of the case may require. Nor is there the slightest danger that the recognition of the property of citizens of each and all the States within the Territories would turn them into a Babel, as Colonel Benton contends. All may coexist without conflict or confusion, by observing the plain and simple rule of duty and justice.

There is another error akin to this — that the Mexican law abolishing slavery is still in force in New Mexico and California, when not a particle of its authority or sovereignty remains in either. Their conquest by us, and the treaty that followed, extinguished the whole, and with it annulled all her laws applicable to them, except those relating to such rights of property and relations between individuals as may be necessary to prevent anarchy; and even these are continued only by *sufferance*, and on the implied *authority of the conquering country, and not the authority of the conquered*, and only from the necessity of the case. Her law abolishing slavery are not embraced in the exception; and if it were, it would be taken out of it, as the assent of Congress could not be implied to continue a law which it had no right to establish.

But still higher ground may be taken. The moment the Territory became ours, the Constitution passes over and covers the whole with all its provisions, which, from their nature, are applicable to Territories, carrying with it the joint sovereignty of each and all the States of the Union, and sweeping away every Mexican law, incompatible with the rights, property, and relations, belonging to the citizens of the United States, without regard to what State they belong, or whether it be situated in the Northern or Southern section of the Union. The citizens of all have equal rights of protection in their property, relations, and person, in the common Territories of each and all the States. The same power that swept away all the laws of Mexico which made the Catholic religion the exclusive religion of the country, and which swept away all the laws prohibiting the introduction of property of almost every description, some absolutely, and others under the condition of paying duties, and letting them in duty free, until otherwise provided for, swept that which abolished slavery, and let in property in slaves. No distinction can be made between it and any other description of property or thing consistently with the Constitution and the equal rights of the several States of the Union and their citizens.

But we are told by Col. Benton that the question has become a mere abstraction of no importance; that few have gone into either Territory, except citizens of the North and foreigners; and that they are all opposed to us. What insult! What? Taunt us by telling we cannot go into them, because foreigners and others, who have been let in freely, and we kept out by the threat of confiscating our property by himself and his associates, have become sufficiently numerous to keep us out, without the intervention of Congress to aid them! He knew that "property is timid," and could be kept out by threats, and that to keep us out for a short time was one of the ways to exclude us ultimately. What a comment on the equity and justice of the Government, that we, who have so freely spent our blood and treasure to conquer the country, should be excluded from all its benefits, while it is left open for the use and enjoyment of all that rabble of foreigners, which he enumerates with such zest, as the efficient means of our exclusion. Is there another instance of such an outrage to be found in the history of any other Government that ever existed?

His avowal of the doctrines of the Abolitionists will have an effect he little suspected when he made it. It furnishes ample evidence to show that he used deception in assigning his reasons for declining to obey the instructions of his Legislature. It will be remembered, he offered as his reasons, that their resolutions instructing him were borrowed from mine, and that mine were introduced for disunion purposes, and that there was no difference between them, except that mine aimed directly at disunion, and theirs ultimately at the same thing. He added, in effect, that his devotion to the Union would not permit him to vote for resolutions so deeply tainted with disunion. That was at the commencement of his speech. We now have in its conclusion conclusive evidence from himself, that all this was a mere fetch, a stratagem to conceal his real motive for declining to obey them. His real motive, as it now appears, was that he could not vote for them under any circumstances, for how could an Abolitionist, as he avowed himself to be, possibly obey resolutions which are utterly at variance with their doctrines? To obey would have involved him in palpable contradiction, so much so, that it could not fail to prostrate and overwhelm him with shame. This he saw, and that he had no alternative left but to resign or disobey. He determined in favor of the latter, but this of itself did not relieve him of his dilemma. He knew well that it would defeat his object to come out boldly, and say that he had abjured his former creed and adopted that of the Abolitionists. And hence, he was forced to adopt some other expedient; and for that purpose adopted the miserable pretext of slanderously charging me and my resolutions, and his own Legislature and their resolutions, with disunion, and of assigning that as his reason for not obeying them, when he knew that his position made it impossible for him to obey them. But these are not the only resolutions adopted by the Legislature of his State to instruct him. The previous Legislature adopted two others, of which he says, that they truly express the sense of the State, and that he obeyed them, not only in their letter, but spirit. They are in the following words:

"*Resolved*, That the peace, permanency, and welfare of our National Union depend upon a strict adherence to the letter and spirit of the 8th section of the act of Congress of the United States, entitled 'an act to authorize the people of the Missouri Territory to form a Constitution and State Government for the admission of such State into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, and to prohibit slavery in certain Territories,' approved March 6th, 1820.

"*Resolved*, That our Senators in the Congress of the United States are hereby instructed, and our Representatives requested, to vote in accordance with the provisions and the spirit of the said 8th section of the said act, in all the questions which may come before them in relation to the organization of new Territories or States, out of the Territory now belonging to the United States, or which hereafter may be acquired, either by purchase, by treaty, or by conquest."

It is proper to observe, that the 8th section to which they refer contains the Missouri Compromise, which established 36° 30′ as the dividing line between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States, drawn between the western boundary of the State of Missouri and the western boundary of Louisiana. These resolutions he says he obeyed, in letter and spirit, when in fact he flagrantly violated them, by his vote for the Oregon bill, prohibiting slavery in that Territory, without any compromise annexed; and that, too, to assert the principle of unlimited power of Congress over the Territories, and in open defiance of all compromise. He calls that bill *his* proviso, and well he may, for he passed it, when it was in his power to defeat it. A very few remarks will suffice to show that I have not expressed myself stronger than truth warrants.

The first resolution asserts "that the peace, harmony, and welfare of our National Union depends upon a strict adherence to the letter and spirit of the Missouri Compromise, and the last instructs their Senators and Representatives *to vote in accordance with its provisions and spirit in all questions which may come up before them in relation to the organization of new Territories or States*, out of territories now belonging to the United States, or which hereafter may be acquired." No instruction could be more full or explicit, or assign stronger motives for obeying them, especially to one professing so great a devotion to the Union. There is no mistaking the meaning. He is instructed to vote for all bills in reference to the Territories which may conform to the letter and spirit of the Missouri Compromise, and against all that do not; that is, to vote for all that extend the line westward from its terminus on the western boundary of Texas, for that is its letter; and to secure to the South that portion of the territory lying on the Southern side of the line, as effectually as that Compromise did in fact, all the territory which lay on its southern side, and to vote against all bills that did not, for that is meant by its spirit. There was good reason to put in "spirit," for it was understood then that the doctrine began to be broached, that the laws of Mexico abolishing slavery would continue in force, unless they were repealed, if not prevented by some effectual guard. No additional remarks can make his disobedience more clear, and he now stands condemned for disobeying the instructions of his Legislature, which he himself praises, and which he does not even pretend to charge with disunion.

I noticed in the progress of this communication that Col. Benton evinced unusual solicitude to confound the Missouri Compromise and all other compromises of the kind, with the Wilmot Proviso. I attribute it, in part, to a desire to screen himself from the odium of having voted for the Wilmot Proviso, by confounding it with other measures, that were far less offensive; but I said that there was another more powerful reason, which would be explained in the sequel. That reason was, to shelter himself, if possible, against the charge of violating instructions, which he acknowledged to be above exception. If he could possibly establish that the Missouri Compromise and the Wilmot Proviso were identical, as he would have his constituents believe, to obey the one would be to obey the other. But I have shown that was impossible, and thus he is left without the possibility of escaping the charge of disobeying them.

With a few additional remarks, I shall close this long communication.

Col. Benton assigns devotion to the Union as his motive for taking the course he has; and by implication, charges yours as being the side of disunion, and his and the Abolitionists' that of union. In this, he but follows the example of all who have betrayed you, or intend to betray you. It is so common, that it has become notorious, that a strong profession of attachment to the Union, and condemnation of what is called the violence and ultraism of the South, accompanied by a volley of abuse of me, and the absence of all censure or condemnation of your assailants, are certain signs that he who utters them is ready to seize the first opportunity to desert your cause.

To these designs may be added another—an appeal to that portion of the Farewell Address of the Father of his Country, quoted by Col. Benton under circumstances which make its application apply to you, and not to those who assail you. I respond to every word it contains with a hearty amen. It is, indeed, deeply to be deplored, that parties should be designated by geographical position, and I regard whatever party or individual may have caused it, as deserving of public reprobation. But to avoid geographical designations of parties, it is indispensable that each section of the Union should respect the rights of the others, and carefully abstain from violating them. Unless that is done, it will be impossible to avoid it—aggression will and ought to lead to resistance on the part of those whose rights are trampled upon, and safety endangered. Sectional assault on one side, and sectional resistance on the other, cannot fail to lead to sectional designation of parties. The blame and responsibility rightfully falls on the section that assails, and not that which repels assaults. Which that is, in the present case, admits of no doubt. The South has been on the defensive throughout, and borne indignities and encroachments on its rights and safety with a patience unexampled, and yet she is basely charged with disunion, and the North lauded as its advocate. We must learn to disregard such unfounded and unjust charges, and manfully do our duty, to save both the Union and ourselves, if it can be done consistently with our equality and our safety; and if not, to save ourselves at all events. In doing so, we should but follow the example of our Washington in the great struggle which severed the union between the colonies and the mother country. He was ardently attached to that union, struggled hard to preserve it by resisting the encroachments of Parliament on the old and established rights and privileges of the colonies; but the folly and infatuation of Parliament, and the vile machinations of tories among ourselves, rendered all his efforts and those of the patriots of his day unavailing. The world knows the consequence. My sincere prayer is, that those who are encroaching on our rights—rights essential to our safety, and more solemnly guarantied than those of the colonies—may, as well for their sakes as ours, profit by the example.

John C. Calhoun.

Fort Hill, *July* 5, 1849.

ARRIVAL OF THE CALEDONIA.

The Caledonia arrived at Boston last Saturday, with Paris dates to the 5th, London to the 6th, and Liverpool to the 7th.

England.—Baron Rothschild has been reëlected to Parliament by a majority of 3,000. Lord Palmerston, in the course of a speech in the House of Commons on the Navigation Question, has expressed a confident hope that the President of the United States would recommend, in his annual message to Congress, a change in the American navigation laws corresponding to that in the laws of England. The Marriage Bill has passed through Committee in the House. Mr. O'Connor has brought forward his motion in favor of the People's Charter, but it met with small favor. A liberal subscription in behalf of Hungary is in circulation in London. Jenny Lind, it is said, will visit the United States before she retires from professional life. The crops in Ireland promise finely.

France.—The despotic measures of the Government are producing a reaction in favor of Republicanism, various sections of the Assembly, not heretofore friendly to each other, being driven into a combined opposition.

Rome and France.—After a gallant resistance, Rome has at last fallen under the power of the Gaul, and the Pope will soon have the pleasure of wading to a throne, through the blood of the People shed in defence of their rights. The Romans offered to surrender on the 1st July. There are no details of the operations of the French army from the 26th to the 30th June, but the *Journal des Debats* supposes the following to be probable:

"It is probable that the twelve guns forming the batteries on the Janiculum breach were unmasked on the 27th, as soon as they were all completed, and that they silenced the fire of the hostile guns on the Aurelian wall and the Montorio. On the 28th, a breach was probably made in the Aurelian wall, which must have been occupied by assault on the same night. Then, on the 29th, the capital position of the Montorio must have been attacked and stormed after a vigorous cannonade. During these operations, the work of the trenches cannot have been idle, and advances must necessarily have been made, not only from without, but also from within, the first wall, to attack the defence of the Portese and San Pancrazio gates. These gates, having been attacked on both sides at once, cannot but have fallen. It must have been under these circumstances that the besieged, feeling the position too critical, and unwilling to perform the battle of barricades inside the town, thought of surrendering. Another point to consider is, that great loss of life may have ensued in Rome itself, during the operations of the 26th to the 30th."

The following despatch was read in the Chamber, from the French General:

"Headquarters of Santucci,
July 2—10 *o'clock A. M.*

"*The General-in-Chief to the Minister of War:*

"The assault during the night of the 30th has produced the unexpected result. Overtures were made to us last evening by the Roman municipality. Our troops occupy the bastion No. 9.

"The gates of St. Parolo Portesa and St. Panorzio have been opened to us, and measures are taking for the occupation of Rome, which will be enacted with perfect order.

"The discipline of our soldiery is equal to their valor."

This communication produced a deep sensation in the Chamber.

The French will find themselves greatly puzzled to know what next to do.

Austria, Russia, Hungary.—According to Austrian accounts, of an indefinite character, the Hungarians have sustained some reverses, but they appear to be slight. A rumor was prevalent that the Hungarians had achieved a signal victory over the Russians. Nothing decisive has yet taken place.

Little change has taken place in the condition of affairs in the other parts of Europe. Venice holds out against Austria. The peace-negotiations between Sardinia and Austria have been interrupted, owing to the increased demands of the latter. Hostilities have been feebly resumed between Denmark and the Duchies. The wreck of the German Parliament driven from Frankfort, contemplates sitting in Constance, Switzerland.

From Willmer & Smith's European Times of July 7.

Collision on the Atlantic—Loss of the Charles Bartlett and 134 Lives.

The steamship Europa, Captain Lott, arrived here on Sunday morning last, at 9 o'clock, from an extraordinary passage of 10 days 18 hours from Boston to this port. On boarding the Europa we were grieved to find that she had on board 43 persons, the survivors of the passengers and crew of the American barque Charles Bartlett, which vessel the Europa ran down at sea on the 27th ult., in latitude 54 49, longitude 23 30, about 700 miles to the westward of Cape Clear, causing the loss of 134 lives. The Charles Bartlett, Captain Bartlett, was an American ship of 400 tons burden, chiefly loaded with lead and chalk, and having 162 steerage passengers, one cabin passenger, and a crew of 14 men, outward bound for New York, and at the time of the collision was going at the rate of about five knots an hour, close hauled on the wind. The Europa was sailing at the rate of eleven and a half or twelve knots per hour. At the time of the collision, both vessels were enveloped in a dense fog, which prevented those on board of either vessel seeing beyond a few yards. At about half past three o'clock, the look-out of the Europa suddenly perceived the ship through the mist, and had just time to announce the discovery when a dreadful collision took place, the Europa striking the Charles Bartlett amidships and cutting an awful chasm in her side, killing several persons on board.

The barque immediately began to settle down, and in a few minutes sunk. The scene during these few minutes was appalling in the extreme. A crowd of suffering wretches, maimed and broken by the collision, lay dead or dying at the spot where the bows of the Europa had entered. Some of the individuals who crowded the decks appeared panic-stricken, others ran to and fro in despair, while some rushed forward and eagerly seized upon the opportunities which were presented for giving them a chance of safety. The most strenuous exertions were made on the instant by all on board the Europa for rescuing from the imminent peril which pressed upon them as many individuals as possible. Hand buoys and ropes were thrown over, boats were lowered, and every man was busied in those fearful minutes in rescuing the struggling sufferers from the waves. Yet, with all the exertione that could be used, only 43 individuals were saved out of 177, who had recently been alive on board the unfortunate ship. Amongst those preserved were the captain of the Charles Bartlett, the second mate, and seven seamen. Of forty women who were on board only one was rescued.

Immediately after the accident, a committee was formed, electing Mr. Bates as its chairman, and Mr. Peabody secretary, for the purpose of giving a tangible form to the benevolence of the gentlemen and ladies on board. Subscriptions to the amount of £352 5*s.* were collected on the instant.

We may here observe, that at one of the committee meetings on board the Europa, the following resolution passed unanimously:

"That we have witnessed with feelings of intense interest the bold and rapid movements of Captain Forbes, of Boston; that his self-sacrificing and daring leap into the sea, to save the passengers of the Charles Bartlett, commands our admiration, and we rejoice that these deeds were performed by the missionary of the Jamestown."

KENTUCKY.

From a private letter, we learn that the excitement in this State upon the Emancipation question is terrible already, and is not yet at its height. The fight between Cassius M. Clay and Mr. Turner, it is apprehended, is but the beginning of scenes of violence which will appal the country. There is a terrible energy about the Kentucky character which renders popular excitement there peculiarly dangerous.—*Richmond Whig.*

We should think a people whose energy is "terrible," would be capable of effecting a reform in the Constitution of their State, especially when the consummation of that reform is regarded by all as of vital importance to the public weal. There are no two opinions among the people of Kentucky on this subject. The only difference is upon the propriety of moving *now*. Men of "terrible energy" should favor immediate action. But it appears that while prudent men, whose energy is not regarded as "terrible," are urging with argument, and not bowie knives, what they deem a salutary measure of reform, the "terrible energy" of Kentucky is displayed in the work of gagging and slaying; an "excitement" is deprecated as "peculiarly dangerous," lest the "terrible energy" of arrogant cut-throats should be aroused. We are of opinion that a pro-slavery man in Massachusetts and an anti-slavery man in Kentucky should exercise the republican privilege of uttering their honest sentiments, without other restraints than the law in its due course of administration may impose; and that where the "terrible energy" of a people is developed in intimidation and murder, it argues the necessity of reform, and should thus supply a new motive to those who are animated by a salutary but not a *terrible* energy!—*Loudoun (Va.) Chronicle.*

THE NATIONAL ERA.

G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR; JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

Washington, D. C.

PROSPECTUS FOR 1849.

The National Era is an Anti-Slavery, Political, and Literary Newspaper; an advocate of Reforms, adapted to secure the Personal Rights of all men, and to harmonize social and political relations with the demands of Justice; especially of that Great Movement, whose doctrines are summed up in the brief maxims—Free Thought, Free Speech, a Free Press; Free Soil, Free Labor, and Free Men.

A brief summary of the principles and measures we are prepared at all proper times to sustain, will serve to show the character and course of the *Era.*

We hold—

That Slavery is repugnant to Natural Right, the Law of Christianity, the Spirit of the Age, and the essential nature of our Republican Institutions:

That Emancipation, without compulsory expatriation, is a high duty, demanded alike by Justice and Expediency:

That there is but one safe and effectual mode of abolishing Slavery; and that is by law, to be enacted by the States in which it exists:

That Slavery can have no lawful being in Territory under the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States:

That Congress is bound to exclude it from all Territory now belonging or that may hereafter belong to the United States:

That the American Union, as the bond of Peace, the organ of one Language and one Civilization, the medium of Free Trade, among the numerous States and Territories stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific shores of this Continent; as the Refuge of suffering millions from the Old World, and a Safeguard against its Ambition and Intrigue, is of priceless value to the Cause of Human Progress; and that there is enough intelligence and virtue in its members to extinguish Slavery, the single cause that disturbs its harmonies, impairs its energies, alloys its good, and threatens its stability:

That the Federal Constitution ought to be so amended as to place the election of a President in the hands of the People, directly, and to limit his term of office to four years, making him thereafter ineligible; and to be still further amended so as to give to the People of the several States the election of their United States Senators, changing the term of office from six to four years:

That the Post Office Department ought to be separated from the Chief Executive, the Postmaster General and all the local Postmasters being elective by the People, and the power of removal for just and sufficient cause lodged in the hands of the Postmaster General:

That postage on all newspapers, of a certain size, for all distances, should be one cent; on all letters, under half an ounce, for all distances, two cents prepaid; that the franking privilege should be abolished; and negotiations be instituted for the purpose of securing free exchanges within reasonable limits, between the newspapers of Europe and the United States, and a reduction to the lowest point possible in the postage on letters passing between foreign countries and our own:

That the public lands shall be held as a trust for the benefit of the People of the United States, to be donated in limited quantities to actual settlers who are landless:

That the inalienability of the homestead ought to be established by law in every State:

That restrictions on commerce among the several States, and between all nations, ought to be removed:

That Congress ought to make due appropriations for improvements demanded by the interests of commerce with foreign nations, or among the States, provided they be not purely local in their benefits, and be not proper subjects for State or individual enterprise.

In maintaining our views, we shall fearlessly use the rights, while we respect the courtesies, of Free Discussion, conceding to those who may differ from us, what we claim for ourselves, the credit of honest motives.

Such reports of the proceedings of Congress will be given as will convey a correct idea not only of its action, but of its spirit and policy.

For the Literary Department of the *Era* we have amply provided. No reasonable expense shall be spared for contributions from some of the best minds in the country. John G. Whittier will continue as Corresponding Editor, enriching our columns with productions of permanent value. We have the pleasure of announcing that the author of Modern Reforms and Reformers, Henry B. Stanton, is to become a regular contributor. We are making arrangements for the publication of some invaluable original papers on the Resources of the Great West, by a gentleman every way competent for the task; and also of original sketches and tales for Home Reading. The *Era* will continue to be adorned by the poetry of contributors whose names are familiar to our readers as household words.

Terms—two dollars per annum, *always payable in advance.*

Every subscriber renewing his subscription, and sending us two NEW subscribers, shall have the three copies for five dollars.

All communications, on business of the *Era* or for publication, should be addressed to

G. BAILEY, *Washington, D. C.*

DR. DUDLEY'S DENTISTRY.

Great Improvement in Dental Surgery.

Improved Artificial Teeth, and a New and Elegant Principle for their Insertion.

Dr. A. S. DUDLEY, Surgeon Dentist, would respectfully invite the attention of the public to his improved plan of constructing and inserting Artificial teeth, which possesses great advantages over the common method.

1. No wood or any other absorbent substance is employed in the new method. The objections to the wood are very great. It absorbs the fluids of the mouth, and not only produces intolerable stench, but invariably spoils the stumps of teeth into which it is introduced.

2. Teeth inserted upon Dr. Dudley's method can be taken out and replaced with perfect ease by the patient, and thus kept in a clean and healthy condition. And this to any person of refinement must be an important consideration, as there is nothing more intolerable than that person's breath who wears a set or part of set of teeth that cannot be removed and cleansed daily.

Dr. Dudley feels confident that he can satisfy any person with a common share of intellect, of the superiority of his method over any other practiced by the profession.

From the Rev. Sylvester Cobb, of the Christian Freeman.

Superior Dentistry.—Of our own choice, and with peculiar satisfaction, we say publicly a few words on the dental workmanship of Dr. Dudley, of Boston, whose establishment is at 238 Washington street, corner of Central Court. His new method of inserting teeth is a discovery of great importance, having advantages in respect to durability, convenience, cleanliness, and healthiness, above all others. It is a real improvement. He has done an important piece of work for a member of our family, which cannot, we think, be surpassed by art. The satisfaction with the work affords such pleasure as almost compensates for the misfortune which rendered it necessary.

Communicated to the Christian Reflector, by Rev. H. Marchant, of Reading, Mass.

Dr. Dudley: Allow me to add mine to the testimony of many others who have taken occasion to speak of your skill in your department of dental surgery. And I need scarcely say more than express my entire satisfaction with the difficult but completely successful achievement in the case of a member of my own family.

With the hope that you may not fail to meet the full appreciation which should ever attend accomplished merit, I am, most respectfully, yours, H. MARCHANT.

From the Daily Times.

Dr. Dudley—His Improvement in Setting Teeth.—If any reliance can be placed on the testimony of those who have examined this method of inserting teeth, and are now wearing teeth inserted by him, it must be one of the greatest improvements ever made in dental surgery, and worthy of the attention of all persons who are desirous of supplying the lack of good natural teeth.

From Rev. B. M. Fay.

Dr. Dudley, Surgeon Dentist, is permitted to publish the following letter from Rev. B. M. Fay, of Wilmington, Massachusetts, pastor of the Congregational church at that place, in commendation of his new method of setting teeth, upon which he had constructed an upper set nearly two years ago.

Dr. Dudley: I am happy to inform you that the teeth which you inserted for me, on your new and improved plan, have more than equalled my expectations. For the purpose both of mastication and speech, they are nearly if not quite as good as natural teeth. No consideration would tempt me to part with them, unless it were the certainty of being able to obtain others like them. Very respectfully, yours, B. M. FAY.

From the Chronotype.

Valuable Improvement in Dentistry.—We have inspected a plan of setting teeth invented by Dr. Dudley, at No. 238 Washington street, which seems to us to have several important advantages over the common method of perishable pivots. We cannot but advise all our friends who are about to have their dental apparatus repaired by art, to examine Dr. Dudley's method before employing any other Dentist.

From the Quincy Patriot.

We have examined several specimens of Dr. Dudley's work, and, so far as we are able to judge, deem them of a superior order, both as to beauty and durability.

From Dr. Cornell, Editor of the Journal of Health.

We have examined Dr. Dudley's new method of inserting artificial teeth, and consider it one of the most happy inventions of this age of improvement.

From the Daily Evening Transcript.

Improvement.—We had an opportunity, a day or two since, of examining Dr. Dudley's new method of inserting teeth, and it certainly appears to be a very neat and desirable method of supplying the lack of sound and natural teeth, and free from the objections common to the old plan of inserting teeth.

☞ Office, No. 238 Washington street, Boston.
June 28—1m.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

☞ We know not how the following poem slipped away out of sight, but the author will pardon us. He speaks freely to Virginia, and says some pungent things, though it is easy to see that he admires her, and would rejoice in her redemption from slavery.—*Ed. Era.*

For the National Era.

TO VIRGINIA.

The following lines were suggested by reading Governor Smith's proposal to deport fifty thousand free colored Virginians from that State, and the reasons he assigns for the measure.

O, what derision pity, and disdain,
Thrill through the soul, to hear thee thus complain!
Was helpless Africa a *volunteer*,
To plant her hapless sons and daughters here?
What though the Briton, in his love for gold,
First stole their persons, then their freedom sold;
Say, who that freedom purchased? who retain?
And *grasp* it from the love of power and gain?
Deceitful grasp, that yields nor wealth nor power,
But brings thus early thy decrepid hour.
Who that perceives, but pity, while they see
Such pride and imbecility in thee?
Such folly on that soil thy Hero trod,
Who won our freedom, while he leaned on God?
O, that thy *wise men* in that hour had seen,
How far their language and their works between;
Flung the bright boon of freedom to the slave,
And bade him be intelligent and brave.

Not more distinct thy streams and mountains trace
The outlines of thy geographic space,
Than righteousness and truth point out the way
To change thy darkness to a glorious day.
Has not thy "Institution," whose *true* name
Took a *new christening* to conceal its shame,
Sufficient myriads driven from thy soil,
That added legions must increase the spoil?
Do not the *forests*, on *deserted fields*,
Tell to each passer, what that system yields?

An incubus is on thee, and thy blood
Curdling around thy heart a stagnant flood,
Will sink thee helpless to an early grave,
If some redeemer do not rise to save,
And break the manacles from lord and slave.
On virtue's pillars a republic stands,
Or its foundations are but shifting sands;
And vassalage and virtue ne'er can dwell
In the same region, more than heaven and hell
One passing glance, to a discerning eye,
Will tell how virtue and religion die,
Where sons and daughters are exchanged for gold,
And their own offspring are by monsters sold.
While all the lights of heaven around thee shine,
A night whose darkness may be felt is thine;
Its shades, in the deep malice of a fiend,
Thy leaders would perpetuate and extend!
O, let that *plague* of thine no farther spread,
Alike the Patriot's and the Christian's dread;
Confine, besiege, and starve it, till it die,
And open to thyself a brighter sky.

One way alone, and that one way so plain,
A child might all its mystery explain,
Can aid thee; seize the blessing while it waits,
And bring redemption to thy mourning gates.
Emancipation, full, immediate, free,
Would dart salvation's glorious dawn on thee;
And *education*, by *religion's* aid,
Sweep from thy clouded skies the deepening shade.
Go, then obliterate thy long disgrace,
And yield their birthright to the sable race;
Deport them not from thy deserted lands—
They will enrich them more than golden sands;
Improved aright, they are thy *stock in trade*,
That *stuff* from which prosperity is made.
Go raise them from the dust, confess thy sin;
Half done the work, when thou dost well begin.
Give them God's word, the pastor, and the school;
Give them their franchise, and their share of rule;
Go, make them men—aye, more, thy *brethren*, too—
And yield God's image there its perfect due.
More than thy youthful bloom would thus return,
More than thy youthful animation burn;
An impetus thy soul ne'er felt before
Would burst with angel strength thy prison door,
Send through the South an energizing thrill,
Her pulse recall, with shouts, "*she liveth still.*"
"Mother of States," Virginia *then* might claim,
Without a blush, as her appropriate name—
"*Mother of States*," *ennobled and made free*,
Graved on the marble of eternity.

E. S. F.

THE CELEBRATION OF THE PASSAGE OF THE ORDINANCE OF 1787.

CLEVELAND, *July* 10, 1849.

DR. BAILEY: In journeying from Washington to this city, I met with no incidents worthy of note, save what is generally experienced in crossing the mountains by the *stage* route. To the lovers of the grand and beautiful in nature, this would be a delightful and pleasant route, were it not for the wear and tear of body and mind which travellers generally experience in being packed into a stage coach, with the good, bad, and indifferent, and hurried off with Jehu speed over hill and dale, and compelled to starve or take a "hasty plate of soup," or such indifferent fare as the mongrel landlords may throw before you for fifty cents. I would advise all who desire comfort in travelling over this section of country to take the packet and railroad line, via Columbia, Hollidaysburg, and Johnstown. It is cheaper and pleasanter, and in the end full as speedy. I was informed by gentlemen in Pittsburg that the scenery along this route is picturesque and grand, and the accommodations are far superior to either of the stage routes. This is quite an item in travelling, especially at this season of the year.

The farmers of Pennsylvania and Ohio were just commencing the work of gathering in their wheat and hay. I think crops were never better than now in this State.

I tarried a few days at Warren, and had an opportunity to learn from Free-Soilers what were the real sentiments and feelings of Gen. Crowell toward the Free Soil movement; and permit me to say that I have the utmost confidence in his integrity. If any one supposes that John Crowell will take any other course, in or out of Congress, than that which the purest philanthropy dictates, and which is recognised as the highest standard of anti-slavery action, he is mistaken. I believe no one finds aught against his past Congressional course; and, my word for it, his future course in the House of Representatives will fully accord with the past.

JULY 13, 1849.

This has been an auspicious day for the *Free* Democracy. The great Oberlin tent was spread yesterday in one of the parks near the central part of the city, and people from the prairie counties of the West and the mountains and valleys of the East began to throng the public hotels. An apprehension of the cholera kept thousands away, but still there were hearers enough. At ten o'clock, the firing of cannon announced the commencement of the exercises. Ex-Senator Tappan of this State was chosen President of the Convention, and Vice Presidents were selected from each of the five Northwestern States.

Hon. Henry L. Ellsworth, former Commissioner of Patents, first addressed the assembled thousands of freemen. He spoke of the revolution that had taken place in Indiana in one short year on the subject of Free Soil, and alluded to slavery in the District of Columbia, giving many thrilling incidents of the separation of families by the inhuman slave trader, which came under his own observation while a resident there. His speech was well received and loudly cheered.

Messrs. Giddings, Willey of Maine, Taylor of the *Cincinnati Globe*, Judge Spaulding, and others, addressed the Convention in a very able manner. But *the* speech of the occasion was made by John Van Buren in the afternoon, who spoke near three hour in his most effective and happy style. I have heard him often, but never heard him do better. In the evening, the crowd again assembled, and were highly entertained by Mr. Bibb, the fugitive slave. The day has been a glorious one for the cause of Liberty, and it will long be remembered by those present as an epoch in the great movement now going forward to effect the happiness and highest well-being of our race.

A sketch of the speeches, the resolutions, and the letters which were read from many of the invited guests, I transmit to you, in order that you may make your own selection. The letter of Cassius M. Clay was greeted with three deafening cheers; and, after saluting each of the speakers with three cheers, and giving three times three old fashioned ones for Liberty, the Convention adjourned. Yours, CATO.

THE PROCEEDINGS.

We learn from the *Cleveland Plaindealer*, that, at the time appointed, some three thousand people assembled under a big tent on the Public Square. The Convention was organized by the appointment of the Hon. Ben. Tappan, President, Joel Tiffany and George Hoadley, Secretaries. It was then addressed for a few minutes by the Hon. H. L. Ellsworth, former Commissioner of Patents, who was followed by James W. Taylor, editor of the *Sandusky Mirror*.

In the afternoon, Mr. Austin Willey, of Maine, made a speech. He "looked beyond the attainment of the immediate objects in view, and contemplated remoter and ultimate ones. How little did the framers of Magna Charta know that they were erecting lighthouses for ages that were to come! How little did they who decided the Sommersett case in England know what a lighthouse they were building for the world! How little did Jefferson know, when he penned the Declaration of Independence, and that glorious Ordinance, what he was doing for the ultimate redemption of man, and how little do each of us know what we are doing for human freedom throughout the world! The pagan nations will yet look to us, and thank us for what we are now doing in this great work. And when the sun for the last time goes down behind the Rocky Mountains, a universal shout of thanks will go up to heaven for all who have engaged in the great cause of Freedom. We are not laboring for ourselves. More gloriously we are toiling for utterly lost, hopelessly defenceless ones, for our children's children, for unborn millions. Mr. President, we are not toiling alone. The patriots of Europe—Mezzini, Kossuth, and Bem—are dealing out powerful blows in the cause of human liberty. We have shaken the thrones of despotism the whole world over. The downtrodden of our race everywhere will feel the influence of our course as it works out emancipation to man. It is a glorious thought, a sublime spectacle. Basing our action upon law, we seek the redemption of a nation with a rectified literature, an ennobled jurisprudence, a franchised people. What a glorious war, what a great trust!"

Eugene Pardee, of Wayne county, O., said:

"I am one, out of 190 in Wayne county, Ohio, that voted for Van Buren, Adams, and Free Soil. My neighbors made a great ado about it, thought I had a devil in me, and seriously proposed that my business should be taken away from me, as I was not, they thought, competent to transact it. How is it to-day? Oh! the fellow was about half right, after all."

Judge Spaulding followed:

"I know of no reason why all whose interests are intimately connected with the prosperity of what was once the Northwest Territory, should not celebrate that Ordinance which gave to that Territory, under heaven, its greatness. The honor of celebrating this day is not peculiar alone to the Free Soil party; it should be monopolized by no party. From childhood, said Judge S., I have been identified with the Democratic party, and yet I am here, with perfect freedom to mingle my voice with others in celebrating the passage of the Jeffersonian Ordinance.

"Fellow-citizens, said Mr. S., we are assembled here to-day, the anniversary of this Ordinance, to render a tribute of gratitude to Almighty God for this occasion, and to transmit to our posterity the same cause of gratitude that we have. Let this Proviso be extended to all our Territories. No more slave States; no, even from the limits of Texas. No more slave territory. Let that be the watchword of freemen.

"I admit, said Mr. S., I have been a strong party man. I have felt the restraints of party ties. Their influence has been strong. Neither of the old parties have been willing to break with the slave power. Both were unwilling to lose their aid. But the time has come.

"Judge S. paid a just tribute to the old Liberty party. He said it consisted of men who were inflexible in the right. That little band have been as true as steel. The people are now rallying with them. I say to them, noble friends, stand fast; the day of triumph is at hand.

RESOLUTIONS.

The Committee on Resolutions, by ELI TAPPAN their Secretary, reported the following Preamble and Resolutions, which were unanimously adopted by the Convention.

Whereas the early history of the Republic establishes the following facts:

That Thomas Jefferson, in March, 1784, introduced into the Congress of the Confederation "a plan for the temporary government of the Western Territory," the provisions of which embraced all "the territory ceded or to be ceded by the individual States to the United States," and expressly included the States of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin:

That prominent among its terms was a proviso, "that, after the year 1800 of the Christian Era, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty:"

That this plan, now ascertained to have been drawn and engrossed by Thomas Jefferson, only failed of enactment by one vote, (receiving the votes of six States out of the ten present in Congress;) but, subsequently, on the 13th of July, 1787, an Ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory was unanimously passed, which prohibited slavery or involuntary servitude, almost in the words of the Jefferson Proviso of 1784:

That simultaneously with the extension of the Ordinance of 1787 to all the territory in the possession of the American People, their delegates in the Convention to frame the Constitution adopted an organic law which contemplated an extinction of the slave traffic, and with other acts and evidences developed a design by the men of the Revolution to limit, localize, and discourage slavery: and

Whereas the citizens who now enjoy the fruits of the Ordinance of 1787 are summoned by every consideration of humanity and patriotism to renew and perpetuate the Proviso of Freedom over our Western Territories, the District of Columbia, and all other portions of the Union within the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress: Therefore,

Resolved, That we, the citizens of the States formed from the Northwest Territory, having met in Convention with our friends from other States, to celebrate the Anniversary of the Ordinance of 1787, hold in grateful remembrance the authors of that Ordinance, and particularly Thomas Jefferson, who first drafted the clause to forever prohibit the introduction of slavery into this Territory.

Resolved, That we believe, with the fathers of the Republic, that human slavery is a moral, social, and political evil; that the General Government should relieve itself from all responsibility for its existence; and that the full constitutional power of the Government to prevent the spread of this evil should be exerted now, as it should have been from the Jeffersonian Ordinance of 1787.

Resolved, That we abhor the policy of partisan politicians, who, for political availability, have so long sacrificed, in National Conventions, the best interests of freedom and humanity.

Resolved, That President Taylor, by allowing his name and influence to be used for the benefit of the Slave Power, at the close of the late session of Congress, has not only violated the spirit of his pledge not to interfere with the action of Congress, but, by threatening through his official organ to visit the Free Soil party with "his indignant frown," in case they should do what Southern members of Congress have done without incurring any such frowns, has abundantly shown that the cause of freedom in the new free Territories of New Mexico and California has nothing to hope, but much to fear, from the present National Administration.

Resolved, That to protect this great interest, and to insure, in other respects, a sound administration of public affairs, it is indispensable that there should be a union of all those who love their country more than mere party upon the great principles of Human Rights promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and set forth in the inaugural address of its author.

Resolved, That, in the spirit of the compact solemnly established by the Ordinance of 1787, between the original States and the people of the Northwestern Territory, we recognise the duty of Congress to resist the toleration of slave Territories and the admission of slave States, and to suffer no change in the complexion of the United States Senate except in favor of Freedom, and no addition to the slave representation in the House of Representatives, whatever may be the pretext of Congressional compromise, stipulation, or precedent.

Resolved, That the existence of human slavery at the seat of Government is a foul stain upon the escutcheon of our Republic; and no efforts should be spared to elect Senators and Representatives to Congress, who will vote unhesitatingly for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, or for the removal of the seat of Government to a place consecrated to Free Soil.

Resolved, That this Convention approve the platform of the Free Democracy, which was promulgated at Buffalo, in August, 1848, and which has since been sanctioned by every State, slave or free, where the Free Democracy have been organized.

Resolved, That the Free Democracy, in its efforts to restore the original policy of the Government on the subject of slavery, are only carrying out true Democratic principles to their legitimate application; and we therefore hail with the greatest satisfaction the efforts now making, and, we rejoice to add, successfully made in Vermont, and some other States, to bring up the old Democracy to the platform of Freedom, and dissolve the bonds of its unnatural alliance with the Slave Power.

Resolved, That we witness with great satisfaction the triumphant appeal which Thomas H. Benton is making to the people of Missouri, sustaining fully one of the great principles of the Democracy, to wit: the constitutional power of Congress to legislate for Freedom, even to the exclusion of slavery.

LETTERS.

Letters were read from Martin Van Buren, Henry Clay, John A. Dix, John G. Palfrey, Horace Mann, C. F. Adams, Charles Sumner, Lewis Tappan, Dr. Snodgrass, Cassius M Clay, C. B. Sedgwick, Ansel Bascom, &c. We can make room but for two.

FROM MARTIN VAN BUREN.

LINDENWALD, *July* 7, 1849.

GENTLEMEN: I have received the invitation with which you have honored me to unite with the Freemen of the Reserve, in celebrating, on the 13th inst., the anniversary of the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, and return you my best thanks for this proof of your respect and confidence.

It will not be in my power to comply with your request, and it can scarcely be necessary to say to you how cordially and earnestly I concur in the policy of the great measure you desire to sustain.

That "the Ordinance of 1787" lies at the foundation of the growth and prosperity of the people and States of the Northwest—that the vigor and vitality they possess is justly attributable to its action—that the exclusion of slavery by that act from this Territory, (all then held by the nation,) declared the original and affirmed the future policy of the American People—and that the influence of Government should be kept actively and perpetually on the side of Freedom—are opinions which deserve, and will, I doubt not, at no distant day, meet with the heartfelt concurrence of the masses of the people of every section of our extended Confederacy.

Sincerely wishing you success in your patriotic efforts, I am, gentlemen, very respectfully, your obedient servant, MARTIN VAN BUREN.

Messrs. *John C. Vaughan*, } *Committee.*
Thomas Brown,

FROM HENRY CLAY.

ASHLAND, *June* 16, 1849.

GENTLEMEN: I received your official letter in behalf of the Freemen of the Reserve, inviting me to unite with them, at Cleveland, in celebrating the anniversary of the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, on the 13th of July next. I concur entirely in opinion as to the wisdom of that great measure, and I am glad that it has secured to the States, on which it operates, an exemption from the evils of slavery. But the event of the passage of the Ordinance has never, within my knowledge, been celebrated in any one of the sixty-one years which has since intervened. It is proposed, for the first time, to commemorate it. It is impossible to disguise the conviction that this purpose originates out of the question, now unfortunately agitating the whole Union, of the introduction of slavery into New Mexico and California. Whilst no one can be more opposed than I am to the extension of slavery into those new Territories, either by the authority of Congress, or by individual enterprise, I should be unwilling to do anything to increase the prevailing excitement. I hope that the question will be met, in a spirit of calmness and candor, and finally settled in a manner to add strength and stability, instead of bringing any danger to the existence of our Union. In all our differences of opinion, we should never cease to remember that we are fellow-citizens of one common and glorious country, nor to exercise mutual and friendly forbearance.

But, gentlemen, waiving all other considerations, indispensable engagements will prevent my attendance on the occasion which you have done me the honor to invite me.

With great respect, I am your friend and obedient servant, H. CLAY.

Messrs. John C. Vaughan, } *Committee.*
Thomas Brown,

REFORM IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

NEW LISBON, O, *7th month 9th*, 1849.

MY DEAR FRIEND: Being on my home-bound way from New York State, where I have been attending a deeply interesting Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends, a notice of which has been published in the *Tribune*, together with an "Address to Reformers," several Friends have expressed a wish to see the letter and address in the *Era*. Wilt thou be so good as to give them an insertion, and very much oblige thy friend and many others.

Hastily, but with very kind consideration and regard, JOSEPH A. DUGDALE,
of Selma, Clark county, O.

WATERLOO, SENECA CO., *June* 7, 1849.

* * * * * * * * *

Within the last few days, there has been held, at the Quaker meeting-house near this village, a large meeting, composed mainly of members of or seceders from the Society of (Hickseite) Friends. It was called for the purpose of forming a new religious organization, of a more liberal and reformatory character than that of the old sects. The movement originated in a conscientious dissatisfaction with the frigid indifference or unyielding hostility to the reforms of the age manifested by the leaders of the Quaker Society. Year after year had the earnest opponents of Intemperance, Slavery, and War, sought to procure such action on these questions as they thought was required by the principles which the Society had so long professed. Many of their number had been disowned for no cause save their activity in reformatory associations, while others were subjected to the constant pressure of religious bigotry and intolerance. Among those disowned for this cause was the venerable Isaac T. Hopper of New York, the late and deeply-lamented Charles Marriott, and Nicholas Hallock of Milton, and Joseph A. Dugdale of Ohio, both able ministers of the Society.

The call for the Convention, whose sessions have just been concluded, was issued by a Conference of members of the Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends. It proposed, as a substitute for the old Quaker organization, whereby the Yearly Meeting is endowed with ecclesiastical power over the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, that each local congregation should manage its own internal and disciplinary affairs on such a plan as may be best adapted to its own peculiar circumstances; while the General or Yearly Meeting, being free from the necessity of intermeddling with merely local affairs, and from the difficult, not to say unworthy, effort to enforce a rigid uniformity in respect to theological opinions and shibboleths, should be devoted to the culture of a wider charity, a more enlightened and earnest sympathy with the Reforms of the Age, a more generous hospitality for new ideas, and a spirit of brotherly coöperation in every work of practical righteousness and benevolence. Retaining the essential *principles* of Quakerism, it proposed to abolish what is known as the "Select Meeting," or the Meeting of Ministers and Elders, and to render the organization more democratic by placing all its members upon one level of rights and prerogatives, leaving each individual to exert the influence which *character* alone can confer. The practice of recommending (ordaining) ministers, and seating them above their brethren, it also proposed to abolish, leaving each individual free to speak or be silent, according to his highest perceptions of duty. Proposing no theological test, it was designed to form a union of all those, of whatever sect, who desired to coöperate in works of charity and benevolence, on a basis which should allow the widest freedom of speech in respect to all subjects on which there might be an honest difference of opinion.

The call was responded to by a large number of persons, mostly members of the Genesee Yearly Meeting, but including a few from other parts of the country, and some who were not Quakers. Among those in attendance from abroad, were Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia, (the most eloquent Quaker minister in the United States, if not in the world,) Nicholas Hallock, of Milton, and Joseph A. Dugdale and Ruth Dugdale, of Ohio. Contrary to the usual practice of Friends, the sessions of the Yearly Meeting were not private, but open to anybody who chose to attend; and men and women, instead of meeting separately, came together in the same room on terms of perfect equality. The meeting was organized, according to the usual Quaker practice, by the appointment of no other officers than Clerks. No question was put to vote, but everything was done by general consent, the Clerks, after listening to all that was said by the members, recording what appeared to them to be the prevailing wish of the Meeting. The Clerks were, Thomas McClintock, of Waterloo, a well-known minister, and long regarded as one of the ablest writers in the Society of Friends, and Rhoda De Garmo, of Rochester. Epistles of sympathy were received from various meetings and individuals in different parts of the country, which afforded proof that the movement is confined to no locality, but has sprung from a common want among those who desire to make their religious organizations more truly subservient to the progress of practical piety and philanthropy. The name assumed by the meeting, after considerable discussion, is that of Congregational Friends.

The discussions of the meeting were conducted with great kindness of spirit, earnestness of manner, and, on the part of some, with much ability and eloquence. Lucretia Mott delighted everybody by her simplicity of manner, her clear perception and fearless utterance of truth, and her devotedness to the Right. Besides attending the regular session of the Convention, she addressed a crowded meeting at the court-house, in this village, on Tuesday evening, and another (to vindicate the Rights of Women) at Seneca Falls, on the evening of Wednesday.

The subjects brought before the meeting were of a practical nature. Intemperance, Slavery, War, Licentiousness, Land Monopoly, the Rights and Wrongs of Woman, Priestcraft, Sectarianism, Capital Punishment, &c., all received some share of attention. A general Address, (written by Thomas McClintock,) setting forth the views of the meeting in relation to these subjects, and defining the position of Congregational Friends in respect to questions of Theology, was unanimously adopted. Congress was memorialized for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories, and the inter-State Slave Trade, and against the extension of Slavery to California and New Mexico. The Legislature of New York was memorialized in opposition to Capital Punishment.

The spirit of the meeting and its position toward Reformers of all classes is exhibited in the following Address, which was unanimously and even enthusiastically adopted. The contrast between this and the proceedings of other religious bodies in relation to Reforms is noteworthy. Instead of opposing and baffling them, it extends to them the helping hand, recognising them as so many departments of the great field of Christian effort:

ADDRESS TO REFORMERS.

To all earnest and devoted laborers in the various Humanitary Reforms so conspicuous in the present day, the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends sendeth greeting:

BELOVED FRIENDS: Assembled, in obedience to the call of Duty, for the promotion of pure and undefiled religion throughout the world, our souls have been stirred by an earnest desire to strengthen the hands and encourage the hearts of those who, in the midst of obloquy and reproach, are struggling, through the various Reformatory Associations of the present day, to abolish the giant evils which have so long cursed and degraded the human family. Having broken the ties of party and sect, under a solemn conviction that they are incompatible with the freedom of the soul and a mighty obstacle to the progress of the human race in knowledge and goodness, we have been drawn together for our spiritual strength and elevation, and by a common sympathy in every work of practical righteousness, and a common desire to find a basis of union for all the friends of God and Humanity—a common platform, in which they may meet in perfect harmony with the laws of their being and the equal relations which our Father in heaven has established for them. Such a basis of universal fellowship we have sought, not in creeds and forms, but in love to God, and in those principles of FUNDAMENTAL MORALITY which are the elements of all true religion, and which are so clearly set forth in the precepts and so beautifully illustrated in the life of Christ. While your associations are devoted each specially to one or another of the various branches of Reform, ours is designed to embrace them all in one common brotherhood, and to open a channel through which those engaged in one department may help those who are toiling in another, and receive and impart the strength which is derived from communion with God and with kindred spirits. Standing upon this platform, we rejoice to greet you as fellow-laborers with us in the great work of Human Redemption and Salvation, and to tender you our hearty God-speed in the work to which you have been called.

In the field of moral no less than in that of physical effort, there is an absolute necessity for a division of labor—a necessity arising on the one hand from the magnitude and variety of the work to be accomplished, and on the other from the great diversity of gifts in the different classes of the human family. The attention of one class may be particularly called to the evils of Intemperance; another may be inspired to do battle with the gigantic sin of Slavery; a third to denounce and expose the atrocities and crimes of War, and another for the abolition of the Gallows and the adjustment of the whole penal code to the Christian law of Forgiveness; another may be called of God to arrest the tide of Sexual Impurity; the province of others may be to seek a remedy for the blighting evils of Poverty, to protest against the tyranny of Wealth, the monopoly of Land, or to harmonize the relations of men in Industrial Associations; another class may be impelled to labor for the restoration to Woman of the inalienable rights of which she has so long been despoiled; others may seek the overthrow of a despotic and mercenary Priesthood, to call mankind away from reliance upon empty forms and the observance of holy days, and to consecrate all time to the service of God; and still another class may devote their energies to Physiological Reform or to the sacred work of Education. But, as all moral evils spring from the same root, so is the work of abolishing them essentially ONE WORK. Here we exhort the friends of Reform, in whatever portion of the moral vineyard they are called to labor, to remember that they are one Brotherhood, and should therefore be of one heart and one mind. We are deeply impressed with the conviction that not only is an earnest devotion to one philanthropic enterprise consistent with a hearty interest in every work of Reform, but that our usefulness and efficiency in our several spheres will be proportioned to our just appreciation of the labors of others and to our diligence in cultivating the spirit of Universal Unity. The narrow bigotry which leads us to form an exaggerated estimate of our own immediate labors, and to undervalue the toils and sacrifices of others not less devoted than ourselves to the welfare of mankind, is at war with the whole genius of reform, and a mighty hindrance to our moral and spiritual growth. The friends of Humanity, of every class, should sedulously cultivate the spirit of harmony and mutual coöperation so beautifully described by one of the prophets of Israel: "They helped every one his neighbor; and every one said to his brother, Be of good courage. So the carpenter encouraged the goldsmith, and he that smootheth with the hammer him that smote the anvil, saying, It is ready for the soldering; AND HE FASTENED IT WITH NAILS THAT IT SHOULD NOT BE MOVED."—*Isaiah* xli, 6, 7.

We admonish you, beloved fellow-laborers, to be steadfast and immovable in your adherence to fundamental principles, to Right and Truth in opposition to the maxims of a worldly expediency. Be true, under all circumstances, to your highest convictions, to the voice of Duty in your own souls. Let no temporary good, no impatience for immediate results, tempt you to swerve from the line of strictest Rectitude. Remember that duty is yours, while consequences are God's. Enter into no compromise with the evils which you seek to exterminate. While you deal kindly and patiently with those who set themselves in opposition to the cause of Reform, seeking to win them to the right way in the spirit of love, we exhort you also to be bold and fearless in proclaiming the Truths you are set to defend. Let your rebukes of sin be tempered with kindness, but give no place to that false charity which shrinks from the utterance of an important truth from the fear of giving offence.

We entreat you also to be faithful to the Truth in dealing with the corrupt parties and sects which lend their influence to sustain injustice, oppression, and crime. The Church which sanctions or apologizes for Slavery and War, or which neglects or refuses to take the side of the oppressed and down-trodden, is controlled by the spirit of practical infidelity and atheism. The Ministry which is zealous for creeds and forms, but utters no efficient testimony against the popular sins of the age, is not a Christian, but an infidel Ministry; and we counsel you, by your reverence for God, and your love for man, to lend it no support. Be not deceived by the potent wiles, nor awed into submission by the anathemas of such a Church and such a Ministry. Though the hosts of sect and party are encamped on every side, be not dismayed nor disheartened, for in the conflict with unrighteousness "one shall chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight." The advocates and apologists for Sin may seek to overwhelm you with the waves of popular indignation; you may be denounced as heretics, fanatics, and infidels; but remember for your consolation that such has been the fate of Reformers in all past ages, and that even Jesus of Nazareth, in whom was no guile, was charged with blasphemy, and doomed to suffer an ignominious death upon the cross.

In thus addressing you, we obey the holiest impulses of our nature, which are ever prompting us to deeds of charity and benevolence, and to manifestations of sympathy for all who are sincerely concerned for the welfare of man. The religious association in which we are united assumes no ecclesiastical authority, neither does it, as such, set up any claim to your veneration as a Divinely constituted body. Your reverence is due to the manifestations of the Divine Will in your own hearts, not to organizations, which, however holy in their origin and purposes, are but the instrumentalities adapted to the present condition and wants of mankind.

A deep sympathy for you under the manifold trials and discouragements which throng your pathway, and an ardent desire that you may prove faithful even unto death, constrains us, as your equal brethren, to offer you these words of admonition and cheer. Receive them, we pray you, in the spirit of Love, and so far as they shall be found to accord with your own highest convictions, let them be duly impressed upon your minds and hearts.

Finally, dear friends, be vigilant in the work to which you are called; and may the God of Truth inspire you with wisdom and strength, and crown your labors with glorious success.

Signed, on behalf of the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends, held near Waterloo, Seneca county, New York, from the 4th to the 6th of the Seventh month, 1849.

THOMAS MCCLINTOCK, } *Clerks.*
RHODA DE GARMO,

This, I believe, is the first time that any religious body in the land has spoken in terms of encouragement to the family of Reformers, recognizing their labors as designed and calculated to redeem the race from ignorance and sin, and hasten the triumph of pure Christianity. If the Church generally would give equally strong evidence of her sympathy with humanity, she would not have cause to mourn that her altars are deserted by the earnest and devoted Reformers of this hopeful age. Yours, REVILO.

Correspondence of the New York Journal of Commerce.

DR. BEECHER'S FIRST 4TH OF JULY ADDRESS.

ROSELAND COTTAGE,
Woodstock, Conn., July 5, 1849.

* * * * * * * * *

But you will want to hear the particulars. The evening fireworks and such ordinary accompaniments of the occasion need not be mentioned; but the first Fourth of July Address ever made by Dr. Lyman Beecher is certainly worthy of commemoration. Who would think that one so full of years, of honors, and of all manner of usefulness, should never have been called upon to deliver a Fourth of July Address? But so, he said, it was—and long ago, while thinking of its strangeness, he resolved that, should the opportunity ever offer, he would do justice to the women of the Revolution—those pious heroines who did not cling around their husbands, brothers, or betrothed, crying, "Don't go to the battle; you'll be killed; you'll be shot;" but said firmly, "Go; do your duty; and may God return you safely; but don't return with wounds in your back." How could men fail, thus speeded to battle, and knowing that praying mothers, sisters, and wives, were ever imploring for them Divine assistance?

I will not, however, incense your patience by spoiling in the repetition what was so excellently said at the time, and so mightily pleased the maids and matrons who sat around on rude benches, rising one above another on a steep hill side, shaded by pines, their faces glowing with delight. Verily, the "old man eloquent" was the beau of the assembly, and I should not have been surprised if some hundreds of fair ones had rushed forward and inflicted upon him those kisses that sparkled from their eyes and gathered on their lips. But he saved himself by turning their attention to Washington. Washington, at one time during the dark days of the Revolution, spent a night at Litchfield, in this State. The pecuniary resources of the General Government were nearly exhausted, and he was on his way to Hartford, where the Legislature of Connecticut were then in session, to ask assistance from them. His success was doubtful. With a heart heavy and desponding, he mounted his horse the next morning to pursue his uncertain journey. An old man met him, and prophesied his success, and, in the style of the ancient patriarchs, called down upon him blessings from "the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob; even the God of the fathers who shall help thee, and the Almighty who shall bless thee with blessings of heaven above and of the deep that lieth under."

He was successful, and returning by the same route, inquired who the old man was. "He is a good, pious old man," they answered—"a man of prayer." "I thought so," said Washington; "for after he had blessed me, I felt composed and happy, and had no more trouble all the day."

"The men of that time," said Dr. Beecher, "acted more than they spoke. When the sound of cannon was heard at New Haven, my foster father, with whom I lived in a neighboring township, was ploughing. As the reverberations fell upon his ear, he said nothing, but left the plough in the furrow, unharnessed the horse, mounted, rode to the house, took his gun, and, without a word, followed the shortest route to the scene of action. Other farmers around did the same, each at his individual prompting, and without waiting for others. They acted instead of talking, and prayed instead of boasting."

CROSSING OF PROVERBS.

PROV.—The more the merrier.

CROSS—Not so; one hand is enough in a purse.

P.—He that runs fastest gets most ground.

C.—Not so; for then footmen would get more ground than their masters.

P.—He runs far that never turns.

C.—Not so; he may break his neck in a short course.

P.—No man can call again yesterday.

C.—Yes; he may call till his heart ache, though it never come.

P.—He that goes softly, goes safely.

C.—Not among thieves.

P.—Nothing hurts the stomach more than surfeiting.

C.—Yes; lack of meat.

P.—Nothing is hard to a willing mind.

C.—Yes; to get money.

P.—None so blind as they that will not see.

C.—Yes; they that cannot see.

P.—There is no creature so like a man as an ape.

C.—Yes; a woman.

P.—Nothing but is good for something.

C.—Not so; nothing is not good for anything.

P.—Everything hath an end.

C.—Not so; a ring hath none, for it is round.

P.—Money is a great comfort.

C.—Not when it brings a thief to the gallows.

P.—The world is a long journey.

C.—Not so; the sun goes it every day.

P.—It is a great way to the bottom of the sea.

C.—Not so; it is but a stone's cast.

P.—A friend is best found in adversity.

C.—Not so; for then there is none to be found.

P.—The pride of the rich makes the labors of the poor.

C.—No; the labors of the poor make the pride of the rich.

P.—Virtue is a jewel of great price.

C.—Not so; for then the poor could not come by it.—*London Lady's Magazine.*

"Was Mr. Brown a popular man when he lived in your town?" inquired a busy-body of his friend.

"I should think he was," replied the gentleman, "as many persons endeavored to prevent his leaving; and several of them, including the sheriff, the deputy, and several constables, followed him for some distance."

At an election dinner lately, a voter said he had never received a bribe to the extent of a farthing.

"Oh, Smith, how can you say so?" observed another voice, "when I know that Mr. W. sent you a hare."

"Ay, that's true enough; but it was full of maggots."

"Well, then," was the rejoinder, "if it was not bribery, it was corruption."

NOTICE.

IN consequence of the success attendant upon the treatment of diseases at the *Parkeville Hydropathic Institute*, (near Philadelphia,) it will be necessary for patients to make application beforehand, in order to secure separate rooms. Address *Samuel Webb*, Secretary, No. 58 South Fourth street, Philadelphia. Any individual purchasing $3,000 of the capital stock, will be entitled to board and treatment in lieu of dividend until cured, afterwards to receive twelve per cent. per annum dividend on the amount thus invested.

July 5.

GOOD INVESTMENT.

FOR SALE, *twenty thousand dollars* of the capital stock of the Parkeville Hydropathic Institute, (near Philadelphia,) warranted to yield *twelve per cent per annum*. Apply to *Samuel Webb*, Secretary, No. 58 South Fourth street, Philadelphia, or to Dr. *G. Bailey*, Washington City.

July 5.

TO INVENTORS.

THE subscribers offer their services to persons wishing to obtain patents in the United States or in foreign countries, and will prepare specifications and drawings, and take all necessary steps to secure a patent.

From their long experience as practical mechanics, added to a thorough knowledge of the Patent Laws, and acquaintance with the details connected with the business of the Patent Office, they trust they will be able to give satisfaction to their employers, both in the clearness and precision of their specifications, and in the promptness and ability with which they transact all business intrusted to them.

Persons residing at a distance may procure all necessary information, have their business transacted, and obtain a patent, by writing to the subscribers, without incurring the expense of a personal attendance at Washington.

Models can be sent with perfect safety by the Expresses.

Rough sketches and descriptions can be sent by mail.

For evidence of their competence and integrity, they would respectfully refer to all those for whom they have transacted business.

Letters must be post paid.

Office on F street, opposite the Patent Office.

P. H. WATSON.
June 7. E. S. RENWICK.

GREAT IMPROVEMENT IN PLANING, TONGUEING AND GROOVING LUMBER.

Joseph P. Woodbury's Patent Planing Machine.

THE subscriber, having received letters patent for a stationary cutter, planing, tongueing and grooving machine, now offers for sale machines, and rights to use the same. This machine will plane six thousand feet of boards to any uniform thickness, in one hour, producing a better finished surface than it is possible to plane by any other means now known, not excepting the hand plane, and is peculiarly adapted to plane and joint clapboards, or weather-boarding, and will do the work faster and better than any machine heretofore invented. This machine is so arranged that it planes the board with an unbroken shaving the whole width and length of the material, and does not take more than two-thirds of the power that is required to do an equal amount of work by the rotary cutting cylinder, now in common use. The construction and organization of this machine is different from any other now in use. Communications for further particulars cheerfully responded to, by addressing the subscriber, (post-paid,) Boston, Mass.

One of the above planing machines may be seen in operation by calling on the patentee.

JOSEPH P. WOODBURY,
May 3.—1y Border street, East Boston, Mass.

☞ The above Planing Machine has been thoroughly tested, by planing over 1,000,000 feet of lumber, and has planed 3,000 feet in seventeen minutes, and is adapted to stick any description of mouldings with great rapidity.

The subscribers, having purchased the territory annexed to their names, are now ready to offer for sale the machine, and the right to use the same, in the territory purchased by them.

A machine may be seen in operation soon at Buffalo, New York, and at the Planing Mill of Duncan Mangey, Louisville, Kentucky.

Communications for further particulars cheerfully responded to, by addressing either of the subscribers, post paid, Oswego, New York.

STAATS & STEWART,
For the State of New York.
STEWART & TEMPLE,
For the States of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Missouri.
STEWART & ALLEN,
For the States of Wisconsin and Illinois.

CARPETS, OIL CLOTHS, & WINDOW SHADES.

MERCHANTS from the South and West would be amply recompensed by making cheap purchases for cash, by calling at the Carpet, Oil Cloth, and Window Shade Depot, Nos. 18 and 20 North Second street, Philadelphia, second floor, one door below Christ Church.

Three thousand pieces of Wilton, Brussels, Imperial, Ingrain, Damask, and Venitian Carpetings, with Oil Cloths, Mats, Rugs, Looking Glasses, Blinds, Window Shades, and Mattings, wholesale and retail, very low.

☞ Liberal advances made on consignments of Carpetings and Oil Cloths. J. SIDNEY JONES.

March 15.—1am12t

LARD FOR OIL.

LARD WANTED.—Cash paid for corn, mast, and slop-fed Lard. Apply to

THOMAS EMERY, Lard Oil Manufacturer,
Jan. 20. 33 Water street, near Walnut, Cincinnati, O.

MEDICAL CARD.

HARVEY LINDSLY, M. D., C street, next to the corner of Four-and-a-half street, Washington. May 24.

BUSINESS NOTICES.

☞ As this paper is not sent to any new subscriber, unless paid for in advance, the reception of it will be a sufficient receipt.

☞ Agents or others having funds to forward are desired, if the amount be considerable, to purchase of some bank a draft on New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore. Smaller amounts may be transmitted by mail, observing, when convenient, to send large bills on New England, New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore banks. Do not send certificates of deposite.

☞ Any clergyman who will procure four subscribers, and send us eight dollars, may have a fifth copy gratis for one year.

☞ Mr. V. B. Palmer, at his newspaper agency New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore, is duly authorized to procure advertisements for this paper.

☞ Within the last week we have received two or three requests to have the direction of papers changed, without informing us to what post office, county, or State, the papers have heretofore been sent. Without these, we cannot change the direction.

☞ Agents and others, in sending names, are requested to be very particular, and have each letter distinct. Give the name of the *Post Office*, the *County*, and the *State*.

☞ Accounts are kept with *each subscriber*, and when we receive money from him on his subscription, it is immediately passed to his credit.

☞ Agents will notice that we keep an account with each subscriber. Hence no accounts will be kept with the agents; and in transmitting moneys on which they are entitled to a commission, they will retain the amount of their commission, and, *in all cases*, forward the money with the names, so as to make the account even at each remittance.

☞ Agents and others who wish to send us fractional parts of a dollar, can now do so without increasing the postage, by remitting *pre-paid post office stamps*, which can now be obtained at any post office.

☞ We invite the attention of those who are remitting moneys to the following table, showing the rate of discount on uncurrent money in this city. We earnestly hope that those who send money will endeavor to send such bank bills as are at the lowest discount:

Washington, D. C.	Par.	Maryland	1-2 dis.
Baltimore	Par.	Virginia	3-4 dis.
Philadelphia	Par.	Western Virginia	1 1-2 dis.
New York city	Par.	Ohio	2 1-4 dis.
New York State	3-4 dis.	Indiana	2 1-4 dis.
New England	1-2 dis.	Kentucky	2 1-4 dis.
New Jersey	3-4 dis.	Tennessee	3 1-2 dis.
Eastern Penn.	3-4 dis.	Michigan	3 dis.
Western Penn.	1 1-2 dis.	Canada	5 dis.

FITS! FITS!! FITS!!!

DR. HART'S VEGETABLE EXTRACT.

THE astonishing success which has attended the use of this invaluable medicine for epileptic fits, (or falling sickness,) spasms, cramps, convulsions, &c., renders it the most valuable medicine ever discovered. In fact, as a remedy for the above diseases, it stands unrivalled and alone. There is no other reliable remedy.

TEETHING, WORMS,

or costiveness, will produce this disorder. In all such cases, the Vegetable Extract is the only medicine which can be relied on with any degree of safety. Mothers who have small children should remember this.

MANY A CHILD,

the past year, who has suffered with this complaint, and has been given over by physicians to die, has been restored by the use of but one bottle of Dr. Hart's Vegetable Extract.

From the Cincinnati Commercial.

REMARKABLE CURE.

The following certificate was given to Messrs. Thomas & Miles, Dr. Hart's agents for the sale of his Vegetable Extract, for the cure of epileptic fits or falling sickness. We are induced to give it a place in our editorial columns, from the fact that it is the only known medicine that will cure epilepsy, at the same time believing it to be one of the greatest discoveries in medical science. Physicians and men of science of all ages have been trying to discover a remedy for this disease, but all has been in vain until the present discovery of Dr. Hart; and we would now say to those afflicted with fits, despair no longer, for there is hope.

CINCINNATI, *August* 26, 1848.

GENTLEMEN: It is almost impossible for language to express with what heartfelt satisfaction I address these few lines to you, for the purpose of informing you of the beneficial results that have been effected by the use of Dr. Hart's Vegetable Extract.

My son, aged twelve years, has been severely afflicted with epileptic fits, and with such severity that the opinion was, he could not be cured.

In one of his paroxysms, he fell and broke his arm. I called in Dr. Mulford, a very eminent physician, who re-set it. He informed me that my son's nervous system was very much deranged, and that it would be impossible to cure him of epilepsy, as epileptic fits were almost incurable, and employing physicians in his case would be only throwing money away.

I called upon Dr. Pultee; he informed me that the disease had assumed a chronic form, and it would take a long time to cure him, if he could be cured at all.

He became worse and worse, and I began to think there was no cure for him, until I saw the advertisement of Dr Hart's Vegetable Extract in one of our city papers, with certificates from persons who had been afflicted for ten, fifteen, twenty, thirty, and even forty years, and restored to health by the use of this Extract.

I called at your store, and, after conversing with Mr. Thomas, I came to the conclusion to purchase a three dollar package. It did little or no good. I thought I would try another, from the use of which I perceived some little benefit.

I then came to the conclusion to purchase a ten dollar box. I found that it was of so much service to him I was induced to purchase the second. And I am truly thankful that I did so, as by the use of the ten packages he has been restored to perfect health.

Should any person feel desirous of seeing him, and ascertaining farther particulars, I should be pleased to gratify them by their calling on me at my residence, southwest corner of Fourth and Park streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.

ISAAC N. PERKINS.

Messrs. THOMAS & MILES, 169 Main street, Cincinnati, Ohio, agents for Dr. Hart's Vegetable Extract, for the cure of epileptic fits.

A VOICE FROM KENTUCKY.

The following letter was sent to Dr. Hart, from a father whose daughter, aged seven years, had from two to sixteen epileptic fits per day. The original letter can be seen by calling on Thomas & Miles, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Extract from Mr. Bettis's Letter.

BRACKEN COUNTY, KY., *November* 2, 1848.

DEAR SIR: My daughter was seven years of age on the 26th of last October. In August last she was suddenly attacked with spasms and convulsions, and from the first part of August until she commenced taking the Vegetable Extract, four weeks, she never missed having from two to

SIXTEEN EPILEPTIC FITS

per day. I employed three eminent physicians without her deriving any benefit whatever. Hearing of the cures performed by the use of the Vegetable Extract, I called upon Messrs. Seaton & Sharp, your agents for Maysville, and purchased

ONE PACKAGE,

described to them the situation of my child, who for seven weeks of time had lost her power of speech, but her reason was still good. I can say, sir, with indescribable joy, that one package

CURED MY CHILD.

She has not had a fit since the second day she commenced taking the medicine. Several of my neighbors, who were witness to the almost miraculous efficacy of your medicine, are willing to testify to the above.

I remain yours, respectfully,
ARCHIBALD BETTIS.

To Dr. S. HART, New York.

Extract of a Letter received from Messrs. Seaton & Sharp.

MAYSVILLE, *November* 22, 1848.

GENTLEMEN: Your favor of the 18th is received, enclosing a letter from Mr. Bettis to Dr. Hart. The statement in regard to the purchase, &c., is substantially correct, and we have no doubt but that the effect of the medicine on his child was as described by him.

Yours, respectfully,
SEATON & SHARP.

Messrs. THOMAS & MILES, Cincinnati, Ohio.

A PHYSICIAN'S TESTIMONY.

In reference to the almost miraculous efficacy of this valuable medicine, we would refer the afflicted to the following testimony of Dr. J. Dart, one among the many eminent Physicians of Cincinnati:

CINCINNATI, *November* 24, 1848.

GENTLEMEN: In justice to Dr. Hart, I feel it my duty to send you the following, with permission to make use of it as you may deem advisable.

My child was severely afflicted with epileptic fits for nearly eight months. At times, he would have from twelve to fifteen fits in twenty-four hours.

Almost every kind of medicines generally used by physicians, for this most distressing complaint, was tried without any beneficial results.

In May last, I came to the conclusion to try Dr. Hart's Vegetable Extract. I called at your store, and purchased one package. I have the pleasure to inform you that the

ONE PACKAGE CURED HIM,

after all other medicines had failed.

My principal object in sending this communication is that those who are themselves or who have children thus afflicted may be induced to give it a trial, as I feel assured it will cure many cases of epilepsy, if taken and persevered in according to directions.

Should any person feel desirous of ascertaining further particulars in reference to my child's case, I should be pleased to have them call upon or address me, post paid, at my residence. I remain yours, truly,

J. DART, M. D.,
Third street, between Stone and Wood, N. S.

To Messrs. THOMAS & MILES, 169 Main street, Cincinnati, agents for the sale of Dr. S. Hart's Vegetable Extract, for the cure of epilepsy.

☞ Prepared by S. HART, M. D., New York.

Price: One package - - - - - - $3.00
Four packages - - - - - - 10.00
Eight packages - - - - - - 20.00

☞ It is carefully packed up in boxes for transportation, and sent to any part of the United States, Mexico, and West Indies.

THOMAS & MILES,

No. 169 Main street, Cincinnati, Ohio, General Agents for the United States, to whom all communications must be addressed, post paid.

A. B. & D. Sands, 100 Fulton street, New York.
Abel Tompkins, 38 Cornhill, Boston.
Seth S. Hance, 108 Baltimore street, Baltimore.
L. Wilcox, jun., Diamond and Market streets, Pittsburg.
Gad Chapin, Eighth and Market streets, Louisville.
E. & H. Gaylord, Cleveland. Fay & Killbourne, Columbus.
Henry Blaksly & Co., St. Louis.
S. Wright & Co., New Orleans.
David Bugbee, Bangor. J. H. Reed & Co., Chicago.
David Craighead, Indianapolis. E. L. Hollidge, Buffalo.
Charles Stott, Washington, D. C.
H. D. Wade & Co., Rochester.

And for sale by most of the principal Druggists and Merchants throughout the United States, Canada, and the West Indies. Nov. 16—eowly

LARD OIL.

IMPROVED LARD OIL.—Lard Oil of the finest quality, equal to sperm for combustion, also for machinery and woollens, being manufactured without acids, can always be purchased and shipped in strong barrels, prepared expressly to prevent leakage. Orders received and executed for the Lake, Atlantic, and Southern cities, also for the West Indies and Canadas. Apply to

THOMAS EMERY, Lard Oil Manufacturer,
Jan. 20. 33 Water street, near Walnut, Cincinnati, O.

LAW OFFICE, CHICAGO.

CALVIN DE WOLF, Attorney and Counsellor, Telegraph Buildings, Clark street, Chicago, Illinois. Particular attention paid to collections.

Terms of Court, Cook County, Illinois.

County court—first Monday in February, May, and October.

Circuit court—second Monday in June and November.

☞ Demands for suit should be on hand twenty days before the first day of each term. Feb. 3.—1 yr. gr.

JOHN F. DAIR. WILLIAM STOMS.

SEED STORE
AND
AGRICULTURAL WAREHOUSE,

Nos. 33 and 35 Lower Market street, Cincinnati, O

FOR the sale of Grass, Garden, Field, and Osage Orange Seeds, Agricultural Implements, Grape Roots, Cuttings, &c. JOHN F. DAIR & CO,
June 14—12t Proprietors.

THE BROWNSVILLE WATER CURE ESTABLISHMENT.

DRS. BAELS AND MASON, in returning their grateful acknowledgments to the friends of the Institution, and to a discerning public in general, for the liberal patronage hitherto received, announce at the same time that they have made essential improvements in the interior as well as exterior of the establishment, during last fall and winter, which will greatly enhance the comforts and amusements of invalids who intend to visit this place during the ensuing summer.

All of the prevailing diseases are treated here, and they will endeavor to keep up the reputation the establishment has won through the West, by strict attention to patients that intrust themselves under their care.

As the number of places is still limited, application should be made beforehand, postpaid. In order to undergo the treatment, patients have to provide themselves with two woollen blankets, two cotton sheets, three comfortables or a light feather bed and six towels. Terms, six dollars per week, exclusive of washing. March 15.—4m

AGENCY FOR PATENTS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

ZENAS C. ROBBINS, Mechanical Engineer and Solicitor for Patents, will prepare the necessary Drawings and Papers for Applicants for Patents, and transact all other business in the line of his profession at the Patent Office. He can be consulted on all questions relating to the Patent Laws and decisions in the United States or Europe. He will procure rehearings on rejected applications for Patents, discover and point out the novel features—if there be any—prepare new papers and obtain Patents in all cases where there is any novelty involved. Persons at a distance, desirous of having examinations made at the Patent Office, prior to making application for a Patent, may forward (post paid, enclosing a fee of five dollars) a clear statement of their case, when immediate attention will be given to it, and all the information that could be obtained by a visit of the applicant in person, relating to the novelty of their invention, and the requisite steps to be taken to obtain a Patent therefor—should it prove to be new—will be promptly forwarded to them by mail.

All letters on business must be post paid, and enclose a suitable fee where a written opinion is required.

☞ Office on F street, opposite the Patent Office.

He has the honor of referring, by permission, to—
Hon. H. L. Ellsworth, late Commissioner of Patents;
Hon. Julius Rockwell, Massachusetts;
Hon. Willis Hall, New York;
Hon. Robert Smith, Illinois;
Hon. J. A. Rockwell, Connecticut:
And to the following testimonial from the Hon. Commissioner of Patents:

WASHINGTON, *November* 28, 1848.

To all whom it may concern:

During the time I have filled the office of Commissioner of Patents, and for some time previous, Zenas C. Robbins, Esq., has followed the business of Patent Solicitor in this city, and has been in the daily prosecution of business in the line of his profession at the Patent Office.

I am well acquainted with Mr. Robbins personally, and believe him to be a man of integrity and ability, to whom persons at a distance may safely intrust their business. I am pleased to have the opportunity to say that he is faithful to the interests of his clients, and has been, thus far, very successful in the practice of his profession.

Jan. 11. EDMUND BURKE.

LAW OFFICE, CINCINNATI.

BIRNEY & SHIELDS, Attorneys at Law, corner of Main and Court streets, Cincinnati.

JAMES BIRNEY, Notary Public and Commissioner to take acknowledgments of deeds and depositions for the States of Maine, Vermont, Connecticut, Michigan, New Hampshire, Missouri, Illinois, Tennessee, New York, and Arkansas.

Jan. 6.—tf

BOSTON PIANO FORTE MANUFACTORY.

THE subscribers having removed from No. 402 and 406, (where they have been located for about twenty years past,) to their new manufactory. No. 400, Washington street, Boston, will continue to manufacture Piano Fortes of every description. They have the exclusive right for manufacturing Coleman's patent Æolian Attachment in Massachusetts, with the right to vend in all parts of the country.

Every instrument purchased as above is warranted to give entire satisfaction, or the purchase money will be refunded. Any orders by mail executed at as low prices as if the purchaser were present, and warranted as above.

T. GILBERT & CO.
Firm—T. Gilbert and Wm. H. Jameson. Aug. 24.—10m

DRS. MUSSEY,

MEDICAL Practitioners and Surgeons, north side of 7th street, two doors east of Vine street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

R. D. MUSSEY, M. D.
Jan. 4. W. H. MUSSEY, M. D.

FIRE-PROOF CHESTS.

PATENT Salamander Soapstone lined Iron Chests, that will stand more fire than any others made in this country. Also, a large supply of Patent Air Chamber Iron Chests, 700 now in use, and we still make chests in the ordinary way, at very low prices. Slate-lined Refrigerators, Water Filters, Portable Water Closets for the sick and infirm. Seal and Letter Copying Presses, Fire-Proof Doors for Banks and Stores. EVANS & WATSON,
76 South Third street, Philadelphia.

N. B. Country Merchants are invited to call and examine for themselves, before purchasing elsewhere. Feb. 1.

COMMISSION STORE.

WM. GUNNISON, *General Commission Merchant*, 101 *Bowly's Wharf, Baltimore, Md.* Dec. 23.—1y

UNCONSTITUTIONALITY OF SLAVERY.

BY LYSANDER SPOONER. Parts 1st and 2d. Published by Bela Marsh, 25 Cornhill, Boston; and for sale, at the publisher's prices, at the Depository of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, New York. Price, 25 cents each part, or 50 cents bound together.

WILLIAM HARNED, Agent,
August 10.—1am 61 John street.

OLD DOCTOR JACOB TOWNSEND,
THE ORIGINAL DISCOVERER OF
THE GENUINE TOWNSEND SARSAPARILLA.

OLD Dr. Townsend is now about seventy years of age, and has long been known as the Author and Discoverer of the genuine original "*Townsend Sarsaparilla.*" Being poor, he was compelled to limit its manufacture, by which means it has been kept out of market, and the sales circumscribed to those only who had proved its worth and known its value. It had reached the ears of many, nevertheless, as those persons who had been healed of sore diseases, and saved from death, proclaimed its excellence and wonderful healing power. This

Grand and Unequalled Preparation

is manufactured on the largest scale, and is called for throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Unlike young S. P. Townsend's, it improves with age, and never changes, but for the better; because it is prepared on scientific principles, by a scientific man. The highest knowledge of Chemistry, and the latest discoveries of the Art, have all been brought into requisition in the manufacture of the *Old Doctor's Sarsaparilla*. The Sarsaparilla root, it is well known to medical men, contains many medicinal properties, and some properties which are inert or useless; and others, which, if retained in preparing it for use, produce fermentation and *acid*, which is injurious to the system. Some of the properties of Sarsaparilla are so volatile, that they entirely evaporate and are lost in the preparation, if they are not preserved by a scientific process, known only to those experienced in its manufacture. Moreover, these volatile principles, which fly off in vapor, or as an exhalation, under heat, are the very essential medical properties of the root, which give to it all its value. The

Genuine Old Dr. Jacob Townsend's Sarsaparilla

is so prepared, that all the inert properties of the Sarsaparilla root are first removed, everything capable of becoming acid or of fermentation is extracted and rejected; then every particle of medical virtue is secured in a pure and concentrated form; and thus it is rendered incapable of losing any of its valuable and healing properties. Prepared in this way, it is made the most powerful agent in the

Cure of Innumerable Diseases.

Hence the reason why we hear commendations on every side, in its favor, by men, women, and children. We find it doing wonders in the cure of *Consumption, Dyspepsia*, and *Liver Complaint*, and in *Rheumatism, Scrofula*, and *Piles, Costiveness*, all *Cutaneous Eruptions, Pimples, Blotches*, and all affections arising from

Impurity of the Blood.

It possesses a marvellous efficacy in all complaints arising from indigestion, from acidity of the stomach, from unequal circulation, determination of blood to the head, palpitation of the heart, cold feet and cold hands, cold chills and hot flashes over the body. It has not had its equal in coughs and colds, and promotes easy expectoration and gentle perspiration, relaxing stricture of the lungs, throat, and every other part.

But in nothing is its excellence more manifestly seen and acknowledged than in all kinds and stages of

Female Complaints.

It works wonders in cases of *fluor albus* or whites, falling of the womb, obstructed, suppressed, or painful menses, irregularity of the menstrual periods, and the like; and is effectual in curing all forms of the kidney disease.

By removing obstructions, and regulating the general system, it gives tone and strength to the whole body, and cures all forms of

Nervous Diseases and Debility,

and thus prevents or relieves a great variety of other diseases, as spinal irritation, neuralgia, St. Vitus dance, swooning, epileptic fits, convulsions, &c.

Is not this, then,

The Medicine you Pre-eminently Need?

But can any of these things be said of S. P. Townsend's inferior article? This young man's liquid is not to be

Compared with the Old Dr.'s,

because of one *Grand Fact*, that the one is *Incapable of Deterioration* and

Never Spoils,

while the other does; it sours, ferments, and blows the bottles containing it into fragments; the sour, acid liquid exploding, and damaging other goods! Must not this horrible compound be poisonous to the system? What! put acid into a system already diseased with acid! What causes dyspepsia but acid? Do we not all know, that when food sours in our stomachs, what mischief it produces!—flatulence, heartburn, palpitation of the heart, liver complaint, diarrhœa, dysentery, colic, and corruption of the blood? What is scrofula but an acid humor in the body? What produces all the humors which bring on eruptions of the skin, scald head, salt rheum, erysipelas, white swellings, fever-sores, and all ulcerations, internal and external? It is nothing under heaven but an acid substance, which sours, and thus spoils all the fluids of the body, more or less. What causes rheumatism, but a sour acid fluid, which insinuates itself between the joints and elsewhere, irritating and inflaming the tender and delicate tissues upon which it acts? So of nervous diseases, of impurity of the blood, of deranged circulations, and nearly all the ailments which afflict human nature.

Now, is it not horrible to make and sell, and infinitely worse to use, this

Souring, Fermenting, Acid "Compound" of S. P. Townsend!

and yet he would fain have it understood that Old Dr. Jacob Townsend's *Genuine Original Sarsaparilla*, is an *Imitation* of his inferior preparation!!

Heaven forbid that we should deal in an article which would bear the most distant resemblance to S. P. Townsend's article! and which should bring down upon the Old Dr. such a mountain load of complaints and criminations from Agents who have sold, and purchasers who have used S. P. Townsend's *Fermenting Compound.*

We wish it understood, because it is the *absolute truth*, that S. P. Townsend's article and Old Dr. Jacob Townsend's Sarsaparilla are heaven wide apart, and infinitely dissimilar; that they are unlike in every particular, having not one single thing in common.

As S. P. Townsend is no doctor, and never was, is no chemist, no pharmaceutist—knows no more of medicine or disease than any other common, unscientific, unprofessional man, what guarantee can the public have that they are receiving a genuine scientific medicine, containing all the virtues of the articles used in preparing it, and which are incapable of changes which might render them the *agents of disease*, instead of health?

It is to arrest frauds upon the unfortunate, to pour balm into wounded humanity, to kindle hope in the despairing bosom, to restore health and bloom and vigor into the crushed and broken, and to banish infirmity—that OLD DR. JACOB TOWNSEND has *sought* and *found* the opportunity and means to bring his

Grand, Universal, Concentrated Remedy,

within the reach, and to the knowledge of all who need it, that they may learn and know, by joyful experience, its

Transcendent Power to Heal!

☞ For sale in Washington City by—
J. F. Callan Z. D. & W. H. Gilman
S. Butt M. Delany
April 12—13t Ridgely & Co.